

THE

MAY 1957

# CLASSICAL JOURNAL

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# THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

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## Ancient Education

GLANVILLE DOWNEY

An essay-review of H. I. Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity*, translated by George Lamb. New York [copyright 1956]. Pp. xviii, 466.

CONSIDERING THAT the history of education in antiquity concerns classical scholars so closely, and that the material is so abundant, it may seem surprising that we have no definitive work on ancient education which exploits the evidence thoroughly enough to satisfy modern interests and curiosities. One reason for this may be that the subject of ancient education, as such, has not been a regular part of the curriculum, so that there has not been a demand for a textbook. Another reason may be that classical scholars live so close to the subject that they do not feel a very acute need, for their own use, of a comprehensive monograph, and prefer to spend their time on research on special topics in the history of education; and a steady interest is certainly indicated by the studies which keep appearing in this field. Yet there has been a need for a book which will make available to undergraduates and graduate students, and to colleagues in other fields—notably of course in the history and philosophy of education—the evidence which is so important in so many ways. More especially, there is an urgent need, in the controversies now being carried on in this country, for a thoughtful study of ancient education from the point of view of the questions which are now

being asked about all education. There would not of course be any gain, for the present day, in a full-dress revival of the Graeco-Roman curriculum, but the results of the ancient system, seen against the background of the needs and achievements of the ancient world, can give us some ideas which many people think would be quite valuable. The story which M. Marrou has to tell in his history, now translated into English, is tremendously impressive, and his book covers a large field.<sup>1</sup> It was the Graeco-Roman educational system which produced the literature, philosophy and art which the modern classical curriculum is devoted to handing on, and it was this educational system which lay behind so much of ancient history, preparing (or not preparing) the people and their rulers for the problems, domestic and foreign, which they encountered, and inevitably shaping their social, political and philosophical views and programs. The classical curriculum formed the basis of the modern European and American educational system, and still plays a major role in some educational programs. We are naturally curious to know what it was that kept this educational philosophy in control for so long a time, and over so wide an area, in antiquity and the middle ages; and we

have a professional curiosity about the training and the working conditions of our ancient colleagues.

In 1948 M. Henri-Irénée Marrou, who is now professor of the history of early Christianity at the University of Paris, and editor of the *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* founded by the Benedictine scholars Cabrol and Leclercq, published his *Histoire de l'Éducation dans l'Antiquité*, which was so successful that two revised and enlarged editions (1950, 1955) were soon called for. Though the work is expressly written for a French audience and from the French point of view,<sup>2</sup> no comparable modern work is available in English, and so an English translation, made from the latest French edition (without revision or additions), has now been published in this country and in England; the translator is British, so that we read, for example (p. 40), that the *paidotribēs* was "a P.T. expert." The work covers the period 1000 B.C.—A.D. 500. The author in his Introduction describes the book as an attempt at "a general treatment of the whole subject, integrating all that is really valuable in the new acquisitions into a total synthesis." He is well aware that there are gaps in our knowledge, some of which he has attempted to fill by new research embodied in this book. In the necessarily still incomplete state of our knowledge, the book will (M. Marrou hopes) serve in some cases as "a basis for more detailed investigation"; the author says that he has also had in mind the needs of the general educated public (p. xi). The non-professional audience has been carefully kept in mind, and Greek and Latin terms are translated or paraphrased.

Classical scholars will be sincerely grateful to M. Marrou for providing a very useful volume. After an introduction describing education in the Orient in pre-Greek times, the author divides his text into three parts, I: The Origins of Classical Education from Homer to

Isocrates; II: Classical Education in the Hellenistic Age; III: Classical Education and Rome. The third part closes with a quite brief chapter on "Christianity and Classical Education," an even briefer account of Christian schools of the mediaeval type, and an Epilogue, "The End of the School of Antiquity." The best feature of the book is that it gives a careful account of the methods and the curriculum of Greek and Roman education, of conditions in the teaching profession, and of the resources of the schools and of the great centers such as Athens and Alexandria. M. Marrou is careful to point out how Greek education always endeavored to utilize advances in knowledge (p. 46; cf. p. 170). In the light of recent experience, he makes some valuable observations on the relationship between totalitarianism and education in Sparta (pp. 14-25). On these and similar subjects, there are many rewarding and illuminating pages everywhere in the book.

Otherwise, the work will be disappointing to some readers. It is never gracious to criticize a book which represents a large amount of competent work and will be useful in many ways. Anyone who has any knowledge of the very wide sweep of the material, and of the diversity of places in which the texts and the secondary studies are published, will congratulate M. Marrou on his achievement in providing the best survey of this very large subject which has thus far appeared. It would not have been possible to produce a comprehensive treatment of the whole subject in a book of this size. As a guide and descriptive handbook, bringing together a substantial amount of material, M. Marrou's book is of basic value if its limitations are understood. It should be accessible to classical scholars, ancient historians, philosophers, and students of the history and philosophy of education. The English translation, which will considerably increase the usefulness of the work, is



very welcome, though one might wish that the translation had been edited with a view to the interests of English-speaking readers.<sup>3</sup>

It is by way of suggesting the real importance which the subject has for so many students, especially those outside the classical field, that some notes are offered here on topics which M. Marrou either has not treated in the present work or has not exploited to full advantage. The book leaves one with the very distinct feeling that the author has by no means shown the full value of all the material, and in particular that he has not brought out the basic importance of education (and on occasion, lack of education) as something that touched so many aspects of the ancient view of man and the world, and had so much to do with shaping the course of ancient history. These are subjects which M. Marrou mentions on occasions, it is true, but there seems to have been no systematic attempt to bring them all out in the appropriate places in the book. One has the impression that some of these shortcomings might have disappeared, or might have been less evident, if the author's plan had called for a general summation at the end of the book, or more frequent and more detailed summaries in the chapters themselves. The observations offered here are in part concerned with matters which are quite familiar to experienced classical scholars, though they need to be pointed out carefully to students and to colleagues in other fields. There are, however, in addition real lacunae which need to be noted, though we must at the same time remember that no other scholar has yet undertaken so large a treatment of the subject as has M. Marrou. M. Marrou himself provides a list (p. 461) of subjects in which further studies are needed, namely Hellenistic education; school papyri; education of slaves (C. A. Forbes' study, *TAPA* 86 [1955] 321-60, appeared in 1956 after M. Mar-

rou's latest revision had been completed); rhetoric; teaching of Greek to Latins; stenography in antiquity; Byzantine education. We can certainly begin to see how much we can still learn about the whole subject, and how much our successors will know.

Perhaps one of the most significant general characteristics of Graeco-Roman education, instructive as showing the ancient conception of the nature and purpose of education, is the fact that it was limited in a number of ways. Some of these limitations form the major differences between ancient and modern educational systems, and from the modern point of view they may seem neither natural nor desirable. Neither in theory nor in practice was education thought of as something that was to be given to all people, or something that every person had a right to receive. It is true, as M. Marrou observes (p. 65), that Plato, for example, "was less concerned with the education of the ordinary citizen than with the problem of how to train political technicians." But in all their principal discussions of education, Plato (in the *Republic* and the *Laws*) and Aristotle (in the *Politics*) seem to imply that education—certainly higher education—was something that could practically and appropriately be given only to those whose natural endowments and circumstances in life fitted them to assimilate the training properly and put it to good use; and it is plain that they were not thinking in terms of universal, uniform, free education. The belief, such as is set forth by Aristotle at the beginning of the *Politics*, that human beings are not equal in gifts or opportunities, and that society can function properly only if composed of those who serve and those who are served, was characteristic. Education was not something for slaves (except for special purposes), or for manual laborers, or (at some times and places) for women. At the other end of the scale, a man might fittingly

occupy himself with philosophy, which represented the highest result of education, only if he had leisure. This was the belief of teachers and students from Plato, in the fourth century before Christ, to Synesius, in the fourth century after Christ. It is of course true in itself, though the idea is not accepted today in the aristocratic sense in which it was understood in antiquity; but the point of view does illustrate by an extreme example how impossible it would be for ancient education to be free, universal and uniform, more or less, in curriculum.

Another limitation which generally prevailed—though there were occasional exceptions in the form of state aid and scholarships, which M. Marrou notes—was that education as a rule was available only to people who could pay for it, or had the leisure to study with teachers who accepted no fees.<sup>4</sup> Usually the poor could not afford to have their children educated, and anyway such children had to go to work at the earliest possible age. To most people, only elementary education was available (cf. p. 103). All this was accepted as a natural result of the social structure.<sup>5</sup>

One consequence of this situation was a relatively high degree of illiteracy throughout Graeco-Roman times, with all its accompaniments and connotations. One example of this illiteracy, with its political results, will be examined presently.

What seems to us to be another limitation and shortcoming is the absence of any widespread system of schools supported by the state (cf. p. 112), and the lack of any prevailing notion of governmental or public responsibility, such as is taken for granted in modern times, even when a particular government is not able to support free universal education. The well-known exception, totalitarian education in Sparta, which was really indoctrination rather than education, only brings out more clearly the general lack of supervision

elsewhere, until we come to the days of the Later Roman Empire, when a change takes place.

All these ancient views, it must constantly be borne in mind, are based, not on the theories of education, but on the prevailing conceptions of man and society, according to which it was clear what education ought to be. The real emphasis was on the development of the whole human being into a complete and perfect and accomplished (*teleios*) man, this being the express goal of both Greek philosophy<sup>6</sup> and Christian teaching.<sup>7</sup> In its developed form, classical education was based on the observation and study of human nature as this had been recorded in literature and analyzed in philosophy, the purpose of study being to form the student's character and to prepare him to deal with his fellows. Experience had shown that this was what was wanted in education, and the literary and rhetorical training, as worked out by the Greek and Hellenistic educators, was kept and developed because it was considered that this was the best system for the study of the most important subject, namely man and humanity.

The elaborate rules of the rhetoricians and the artificial character of the standard literary and rhetorical exercises may seem sterile and vapid to some modern critics (and there was criticism in antiquity too, as M. Marrou notes, pp. 287-88), but we have become accustomed to a totally different world with other mental scenery and other methods of education; and as M. Marrou observes (pp. 288-89), the classical system did provide the Romans with generations of able administrators and lawyers. M. Marrou might have added that this education prepared some citizens to be outspokenly critical of imperial policies and actions of which they disapproved; the traditional education did not necessarily produce only slavish imitators of the ancients.<sup>8</sup>

Some notes on the results of the

classical system will suggest both its strengths and its failures. M. Marrou on various occasions<sup>9</sup> rightly points to the way in which ancient education influenced history. A great deal could be said about this, some of it obvious to classicists, but none the less worth repeating for the benefit of non-classicists. A few examples may be offered here by way of supplement to what M. Marrou writes.

Illiteracy, as has been said, was a natural feature of the ancient educational system and it is not difficult for any student of history to visualize its effects. We happen to possess a good bit of evidence about this in Egypt. M. Marrou writes (p. 144) that in Egypt knowledge of writing was "fairly general, even outside the ranks of the ruling class," but he does not cite the evidence that while Egypt was a part of the Greek-speaking half of the Roman Empire, the Copts remained to a considerable extent monolingual, knowing only the Egyptian vernacular. Also there was a considerable degree of illiteracy among the Coptic Christian monks and clergy, which would suggest the same condition among the laity from whom the monks and clergy came. St. Antony was illiterate and spoke only Coptic, and the church historian Socrates tells us that at the end of the fourth century the Egyptian monks were for the most part illiterate.<sup>10</sup> Coptic candidates for ordination, at a later period, were required to learn parts of the Bible by heart, for their ordination examinations, because they could not read.<sup>11</sup> A consequence of this condition was that the Monophysite controversy, over the relationship between the divine and the human elements in Christ, could be developed into a political issue by the leaders of the local illiterate and monolingual minorities in Egypt and Syria, who found opportunities to attach the religious dispute to the local discontent and separatist aspirations which could so easily be exaggerated among these

nationalist minorities. The well-known result was that when the Arabs began their expansion in the seventh century, the persecuted Monophysite nationalists in Syria and Egypt welcomed the conquerors, and facilitated their occupation, in the expectation that they would be better masters than the hated orthodox, Greek-speaking imperial government in Constantinople.<sup>12</sup> This is surely an impressive instance of what we would think of as the singularly shortsighted failure of the imperial authorities to understand that a concerted effort to bring education to the Syrians and the Copts, and with it some better understanding of their membership in the Roman state, might have saved these areas for the Roman Empire, or might at least have postponed or limited the Moslem occupation.<sup>13</sup> Study of similar episodes (e.g., the Donatist schism in North Africa) would yield comparable conclusions.

One important subject in which M. Marrou's treatment does not bring out the full significance of the material is the relationship between Christianity and the classical educational tradition. In his rather brief chapter on the subject (pp. 314-29) M. Marrou describes the need for religious education in the case of an intellectual and literary religion like Christianity; the example available in the work of the rabbinical schools; the lack of special schools set up by the Christians, which may seem surprising to us today. He goes on to describe the reasons why some Christians opposed classical culture, and why, in fact, there was no essential need for a clash between Christianity and the classical tradition. (The basic problem here, which M. Marrou touches upon only incidentally, p. 320, was the question of the source and the authority of knowledge and wisdom—whether these were God-given, as the Hebrews and Christians believed, or were something that man had worked out for himself, as the Greeks believed.) Finally, under the influence of

Christian thinkers like St. Basil and the other Cappadocian fathers, it was realized that it was possible and even advantageous to superimpose a Christian upbringing on a humanistic education whose values in the training of the individual were recognized. All this is very true; but M. Marrou seems to have left out of account other factors which also show the contemporary valuation of the classical curriculum.<sup>14</sup> Many pagans, trained in Greek philosophy and dialectic, could not understand the plain and simple language of the New Testament, and distrusted Christianity because it was not presented as a formal philosophical system, such as pagans had been used to studying; in fact, some pagans believed that the authors of the New Testament could not be believed because they were not trained philosophers. It was necessary to train Christian teachers who could present Christianity properly to such people, and could deal with objections and arguments based on pagan doctrine and dialectic. It was realized, in the period just after the official recognition of Christianity, early in the fourth century, that the lack of suitably equipped Christian teachers and apologists had been an obstacle to the spread of the faith. The greatest Christian preachers, such as St. John Chrysostom, all had the Greek rhetorical training. It was also, of course, necessary for any Christian who desired to pursue a public career to have the classical education which was then an absolute prerequisite for entrance into the civil service or a legal career. Thus it was that the Christians did not set up their own schools, but adopted, with necessary adjustments, the classical curriculum with which everybody was familiar. The pagan who became a Christian was not forced to give up the treasures of antiquity.<sup>15</sup>

The picture of the development of the Greek Christian educational tradition is not complete without an account of the work of the flourishing

and important school of literary studies at Gaza during the Later Roman Empire, which M. Marrou does not seem to mention at all. This well-known center of classical learning, conducted by Christian teachers, was as significant as the contemporary centers at Athens and Alexandria in the preservation of the classical tradition and its educational use in the Christian state. The schools at Gaza and Alexandria continued to provide the classical training when the school at Athens, anachronistically conducted by pagan professors, had come to the end of its usefulness.<sup>16</sup>

Nor can we get a complete understanding of the Christian adoption of the classical curriculum without some account of the reaction of the pagans to Christianity and their effort to keep Hellenism alive on the basis of the traditional education. This deserves more than the very brief mention which M. Marrou makes of the subject in his scanty account of the Emperor Julian's program (pp. 323-24). The pagan claim to survival was based on the classical educational system which (the pagans pointed out) had produced the greatness of the Roman Empire. The pagan effort was a major feature of the religious and intellectual history of the Later Roman Empire, and it shows the classical education as the rallying point for the political and religious opposition to Christianity. This was the real significance of the Emperor Julian's program; Julian was going to establish pagan schools "in every town"—a great innovation—in order to combat Christianity.<sup>17</sup>

It is in the history of education in the Later Roman and Byzantine periods—which M. Marrou could not treat in any detail since they pass his limit of A.D. 500—that we can perceive some of the characteristic factors that gave real strength to the classical tradition during both the classical and the Byzantine periods. Modern historians have been very much concerned with the

question why the Empire in the West succumbed to the barbarian invasions while the Empire in the East held its own for so long a time and did not finally give way until the Turkish capture of Constantinople in 1453. One reason for the strength of the Byzantine Empire is surely the continuity of the Greek cultural tradition in alliance with the Greek Orthodox Church, both of which gave the state a living core of strength and of national pride which was comparable to the national pride felt by the Greeks of the classical and Hellenistic periods.<sup>18</sup> Byzantine education was based on classical Greek literature, and our Greek classics have been preserved because they were read and taught (and edited, as Prof. Turyn has shown us) in all Greek schools and universities down to 1453. The eastern half of the Empire laid great stress on the value of an education in the humanities for the members of the bureaucracy and civil service (cf. pp. 310-11). The educational tradition in the West, as M. Marrou points out, had grown away from that in the East; and it seems plain that it was the preservation of the old tradition in the East which gave the Byzantines—including the newcomers from other nations—something of their strength and stability.<sup>19</sup>

While he points out the increased interest in the state support of education which many emperors of the later imperial period felt, M. Marrou does not allude to the educational problem which the thinkers of that day might have seen, if they had been disposed to think along such lines, in the changed political circumstances of the Roman state with respect to the barbarians outside the Empire. Rome was no longer strong enough to keep the barbarians outside the Empire, and in fact the concept of the barbarian was changing. Some Romans, for example, in the fourth century no longer regarded the Persians as barbarians. People like the Goths were settling in the Empire in the fourth century, and

some observers very likely realized that more intruders might be expected. The court orator Themistius, unlike some of his compatriots, regularly advocated receiving and settling the barbarians within the Empire, when their entry could no longer be opposed, and trying to turn them into useful citizens. Yet he apparently never visualized a special effort to spread Roman education among these people as one of the quickest and most effective ways of civilizing them.

Likewise, no one at the time seems to have thought of one aspect of the new importance of the barbarians which at once suggests itself to anyone concerned with modern education; this is the utility, in the new situation of the Roman Empire, of the study of foreign languages. The government possessed what information concerning the barbarians it could get from travelers, merchants, deserters, ex-prisoners of war, and so on, and in the Byzantine period the intelligence service was well-organized and effective. Yet no one ever seems to have thought that it would be useful to the people at large to include "modern foreign languages" in the general educational program. This might seem to us to be a failure of the ancient educational system to adapt itself to changed conditions. A moment's thought, however, will remind us that such a change would have been unthinkable because it would have meant a change in the whole concept of culture, *paideia* or *humanitas*, as a possession of the Greeks and Romans. Other nations possessed nothing which was comparable to, or contributed to, the Graeco-Roman culture, hence there would be no point in studying their languages for cultural purposes. Certain persons might study foreign tongues for utilitarian purposes, but this was a "practical" as against a "theoretical" pursuit, and hence not appropriate for the general course of study.

In sum, the picture we get of classi-



cal education during the whole of antiquity is that of a system which was kept in use for a long time, not through inertia or lack of interest in new ideas, but because it was commonly believed that the ancient authors had achieved the greatest possible success in depicting human character and the main-springs of human action, and that man's best prospects of a successful life (in all senses) lay in the study of these models, which presented standards of perfection which could not be surpassed. Man could come to understand and possess the virtues by studying the best available portrayals of them. What seems the slavish imitation of these models was in fact a way of studying them. To be sure, there were from time to time in antiquity outspoken critics of the *methods* of the classical system, and there was perpetual professional discord between the philosophers and the rhetoricians, as to which of them gave the best training to youth (cf. p. 210); but, once the classical system had been worked out, there was never serious or successful criticism of the basic material employed, or of the purpose of education. Man was the center and measure of all things (cf. pp. 98, 226).

The emphasis on the humanities, and the lack of general and systematic instruction in the sciences and mathematics, did not represent an extremist theory, as we might be tempted to think, but was merely another result of the conviction that education centered on human nature and human character. M. Marrou does not seem to bring out sufficiently (pp. 191-92) the philosophic character of the distinction which prevailed between "practical" and "theoretical" studies of the sciences. It was only the "theoretical" side which needed to be included in the education of the all-round man, while "practical" studies were for different kinds of students. Scientists and practitioners of the arts and crafts took apprentices, as physicians did, and this was con-

sidered a suitable and sufficient provision for such training.

Another significant token of the ancient respect for the classical training is the long survival of this tradition without any overall governmental supervision or control of the curriculum, and without the widespread introduction of schools supported by the state. The controls introduced from time to time in various parts of the Roman Empire were aimed primarily at the elimination of prospective teachers who lacked personal or professional qualifications. It would seem plain that there was a fairly general desire for, and approval of, the established curriculum. The general lack of public or governmental control again reflects the feeling that the individual's education was his own affair; and this point of view appears also in the absence from higher studies of any conception of a degree or diploma. There was no idea that it was necessary for the student to follow a prescribed course of study which should take a fixed number of years. One result of this lack of formality and uniformity was that the educational system did not have the effect of generating differences, social and intellectual, between the educated and the non-educated. The differences were already there, an acknowledged part of the concept of man and of the structure of society, and education itself was not looked upon as responsible for any inequalities.

For those whose interests are involved in the current controversies over the purposes and the methods of our own educational system, the study of Greek and Roman education, as a well-conceived and, in its historical context, reasonably successful effort to educate the whole man in relation to his society, should be very instructive. Students of contemporary problems who use M. Marrou's book should remember that it was written for a French audience and that it is not a complete and definitive treatise, though

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it is better than any other overall study now available. It is to be hoped that we may soon have something more suited to our contemporary interests, for we have much to learn from this story.

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## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Published by Sheed and Ward.

<sup>2</sup> P. 23: "It is difficult for a French historian, writing in 1945, to speak of it [Spartan education] with complete detachment. From K. O. Müller (1824) to W. Jäger (1932), German scholarship lauded it to the skies as a product of the Nordic spirit"; p. 242: "the Germans with their customary pedantry . . ."; p. 358: "the inevitable German Inaugural Dissertation."

<sup>3</sup> In view of its shortcomings, \$7.50 seems a high price to charge for the book. The translation reproduces, and indeed rather emphasizes, the French point of view of the author, and the publishers apparently did not think it necessary to ask a British or American scholar to inspect the bibliography and make it more useful for English-speaking readers. In the list of books cited in the Introduction, one is startled to read (p. 353): "I have no direct knowledge of the large volume (530 pp.) by P. Monroe, *Source Book of the History of Education for the Greek and Roman Period* (London, 1902)." It is even more startling to find no reference anywhere in the work to one of the best books on the subject, J. W. H. Walden, *The Universities of Ancient Greece* (New York, 1909).

<sup>4</sup> On the correlation in Greek times between social status and the opportunity to enjoy a satisfactory education, and the corresponding lack of interest in an educated proletariat, see C. B. Gulick in *Harvard Studies on Classical Subjects*, ed. H. W. Smyth (Boston, 1912) p. 63. Travel was looked upon as a necessary part of a good education, and was in fact more necessary than educational travel is today. Thus students whose families could send them abroad enjoyed a special advantage; see Lloyd W. Daly, "Roman Study Abroad," *AJP* 71 (1950) 40-58. Himerius speaks of travel as an essential part of education, which must come after one has learned what is in the books (*Orat.* 48. 25 ff., pp. 207-208 ed. Colonna).

<sup>5</sup> In the *De liberis educandis* attributed to Plutarch, we read (8e) that if the poor are unable to educate their children, they must blame Fortune.

<sup>6</sup> See for example Isocrates' definition in the *Panathenaicus* (*Orat.* 12. 30-32 [239]) of "educated men," who are wise and complete and possess all the virtues. See also Plato, *Timaeus* 30d, *Phaedrus* 270b-c.

<sup>7</sup> In the New Testament see, for example, *Matt.* 5. 48, *Rom.* 12. 2, 1 *Cor.* 13. 10, *Ephes.* 4. 13, *Phil.* 3. 12-15, *Col.* 1. 28, 4. 12, *James* 1. 4, 3. 2.

<sup>8</sup> A notable example of an outspoken oration in which unpalatable advice is given to a ruler is found in Synesius' *On Kingship*. On the emperors' tolerance of *parresia*, and the efforts

of the first-century emperors to encourage free speech in the Senate, see J. Crook, *Consilium Principis* (Cambridge University Press, 1955), Appendix 4, pp. 142-47, and cf. the concluding remarks of A. Momigliano in a book review in *JRS* 32 (1942) 124.

<sup>9</sup> Pp. 47, 64-65, 85-86, 89-90, 257, 292-93; cf. also pp. 77, 97.

<sup>10</sup> Athanasius, *Life of Antony*, chapters 1, 16, 72-73, with note 244 on p. 129 in the translation by Robert T. Meyer (Westminster, Md., 1950) in the series "Ancient Christian Writers"; Socrates, *Hist. eccl.* 6. 7. Charles Kingsley's historical novel *Hypatia*, which is based on good sources, gives a vivid and accurate picture of the part played by these illiterate monks in ecclesiastical politics in Alexandria. The title of Majer-Leonhard's book is *Agrammatoi*, not *Anpammatoi*, as it appears (in transliteration) in M. Marrou's book, p. 396, note 6.

<sup>11</sup> A. Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*, Eng. tr. (London, 1911) pp. 210-15.

<sup>12</sup> See the study of E. L. Woodward, *Christianity and Nationalism in the Later Roman Empire* (London, 1916).

<sup>13</sup> It is true that this episode extends beyond A.D. 500, the limit chosen by M. Marrou; but the roots of the development go much further back, into the Hellenistic period.

<sup>14</sup> For details, see the reviewer's article "Education in the Christian Roman Empire: Christian and Pagan Theories under Constantine and his Successors," *Speculum* 32 (1957) 48-61.

<sup>15</sup> N. H. Baynes, *The Hellenistic Civilization and East Rome* (Oxford, 1946) p. 39.

<sup>16</sup> Justinian did not "close the school at Athens," as many scholars, including M. Marrou (p. 340), state. Justinian came to the logical decision that classical literature could properly be taught, in a Christian state, only by Christians, and the Athenian professors, who were pagans, refused to turn Christian in order to keep their jobs. The school at Athens was then allowed to die because excellent facilities for classical studies existed at Gaza and Alexandria, where the professors were Christians. Misunderstanding of Justinian's purpose has resulted in a false view of his policy and has obscured his real educational views.

<sup>17</sup> Gregory of Nazianzus, *Orat.* 4. 111 (Migne, *Pat. Gr.* 35. 648c). On Christianity and pagan education the reader should be directed to J. Geffcken's fundamental work *Der Ausgang des griechisch-römischen Heidentums*, ed. 2 (Heidelberg, 1929), and to the important introduction in A. D. Nock's edition of Sallustius, *Concerning the Gods and the Universe* (Cambridge University Press, 1926). Mention ought also to be made of one of the best studies of the contribution of Greek education to Christianity, E. Hatch, *The Influence of Greek Ideas and Usages upon the Christian Church* (London, 1890).

<sup>18</sup> One of the best statements of this is to be found in Baynes' study, cited above, note 15.

<sup>19</sup> F. Dölger, "Politische und geistige Strömungen im sterbenden Byzanz," *Jahrbuch d. österr. byz. Gesellschaft* 3 (1954) 8-9, believes that a decline in education during the latter years of the Byzantine state was one factor responsible for the decline of the empire.

# THE FORUM

MARGARET M. FORBES, EDITOR

PATRIOTISM: ROMAN AND AMERICAN  
ALFREDA K. STALLMAN

[Digest of "Would a 'Good Roman' Have Made a 'Good American'?" presented at the Ninth Kentucky Foreign Language Conference, 1956.]

In his *History of the English Speaking Peoples* Sir Winston Churchill imagines the impressions which an inhabitant of Roman Britain would receive if he were to return to the modern world. Certain areas of our life would, no doubt, be reminiscent of his own. Other aspects of modern civilization would perhaps astonish and bewilder him.

We might carry this fancy one step farther and try to ascertain how a Roman of the first century after Christ, let us say, if he were to be reincarnated in the United States today, would adapt himself to being a citizen of a modern state like ours. How well would his early indoctrination in the patriotic legend, the nationalistic literature and propaganda fit him for American citizenship? Would he be accepted as a "good American" by those who take it upon themselves to establish standards of Americanism? Or would our "good Roman," as does the average "good American," fail at some points to fulfil the requirements of true patriotism and good citizenship?

Thoughts along these lines have been prompted in recent years by the reading with college classes of certain works of Cicero and Tacitus which have suggested parallels to present-day situations involving questions of loyalty and patriotism.

Let us examine certain areas of a Roman citizen's heritage of patriotism and compare them with those of his American counterpart. First of all, each would be heir to a body of legends dealing with national heroes and their exploits, stories emphasizing and instilling patriotic fervor. What Roman youth was not filled with awe by the stories of Decius Mus and Mettius Curtius? Both anticipated the declaration of Horace, *Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori*. Likewise Nathan Hale, in our own struggle for independence, reputedly cried as he was being executed, "I regret that I have but one life to give for my country."

A nation's warriors are her heroes, especially if they fight against great odds or on distant battle fronts. As George Wash-

ington and his army suffered hardship at Valley Forge, so the Roman armies withstood defeat by Hannibal and resisted the efforts of the invader to break their own spirits.

Another popular type of hero is the pioneer. As the homeless, storm-tossed Trojans sought a home in Italy, so the Pilgrim Fathers ventured across the wide Atlantic. Pious Aeneas, the legendary hero of Rome, combines within himself the ideal Roman devotion to gods, country, and fathers as no one American hero has done in the same full measure. Perhaps George Washington, the frontier surveyor, country gentleman, commander-in-chief, statesman and president, most nearly approximates Aeneas. It may be noted here that Washington shared the epithet "Father of his country" with none other than the Emperor Augustus, whom, it is generally agreed, Vergil had in mind in his portrayal of Aeneas.

But to return to the pioneers: in early Rome, as portrayed by historians and poets of the Augustan Age, the Roman spirit was best exemplified by the country squire, the frugal farmer. Cincinnatus and Cato are two notable examples. Of Cato, Cicero said: "Marcus Cato, again, unknown and of obscure birth—by whom . . . all of us who are devoted to the same pursuits are led on to diligence and courage (*industriam et virtutem*)—might surely have remained at Tusculum to enjoy himself in the leisure of that salubrious place. But he preferred to be tossed by the waves and storms of our public life even to extreme old age, rather than to live most pleasantly in that tranquillity and leisure."<sup>2</sup> A popular American ideal, likewise, has been the poor boy rising by his own efforts from log cabin to White House: an Andrew Jackson or an Abraham Lincoln—a rugged, homespun, pioneer type, endowed like his Roman counterpart with rustic wisdom. And as Daniel Boone and Davy Crockett braved the American wilderness, so Julius Caesar explored far-off Britain and Germany.

Perhaps, assuming that the Roman whom we have in mind was a citizen of the Empire and that our American is strictly of the twentieth century, they might smile condescendingly on the ancient virtues and boast of the "rags to riches" heroes of an age of great fortunes acquired by proconsuls, publicans, speculators, industrial-

ists, prospectors, etc. The freedman, once the Emperor's slave, who now handles the finances of an Empire, the immigrant who has become a multi-millionaire, may boast of their achievements, but do we not, all the more, lament "the good old days" of simple living and basic integrity?

There will be general agreement, I believe, that a Roman reborn into twentieth-century USA would recognize many parallels between the ideals of patriotism inculcated in him by his early training and those which the average American has acquired in the course of his education.

Let us consider how, on an adult level, these common concepts of "patriotism" and "citizenship" shared by Roman and American fall short of the ideal under the impact of circumstances and the frailties of human nature. We shall look at just two areas in which both our "good Roman" and our "good American" are often at fault.

The first is in the area of super-patriotism, in which the proponents of any one concept of "loyalty" label as "disloyalty" any deviation from their own set of beliefs. This form of "patriotism" often in time of national crisis or fear of an enemy, either internal or external, leads to suppression of free speech and to the placing of a premium on conformity.

We learn from Tacitus that the suppression of free speech was in effect under the Julio-Claudian emperors at Rome as well as under Domitian, and he laments the resulting tendency towards empty flattery and servility. In the opening paragraphs of his biography of his father-in-law Agricola he says: "Assuredly we have furnished outstanding evidence of our submissiveness (*patientia*); and even as former generations witnessed the utmost of liberty, so have we the extremes of slavery; even the right of speaking and of listening have been taken away by *inquisitiones*. We should have lost memory itself as well as voice, if it were as much in our power to forget as to be silent."<sup>3</sup>

Lyn White, Jr. in a recent article entitled "More Incense for Caesar" sees danger in the present tendency of "raising 'Americanism' to the level of an absolute value which demands our unconditional allegiance and from which there may be no deviation."<sup>4</sup> He sees a parallel between our own century and the first century after Christ in the "absolutizing of things human." The early Christians were persecuted because they refused to offer incense to Caesar. Many Americans have been persecuted because as a matter of principle

they have refused to sign loyalty oaths. Too often one who speaks critically of any aspect of our national life is promptly labeled "un-American."

Edgar Ansel Mowrer sees danger in our day "in the trend towards a *herd state* of which the essence is the denial of supreme value to the human individual."<sup>5</sup> He sees in the emphasis on conformity to society ("the adjustment of the individual to the group in which he lives"—the announced aim of modern education) the danger of the destruction of democracy and the triumph of some sort of fascism. "It is an ancient truism," he says, "that mass rule leads to tyranny." In his opinion our "good Roman" was not good enough to resist the suppression of personal liberty in Rome: "Nothing wakens latent barbarism so quickly as the drab absence of personal thrills. *Tedium vitae* may not have caused Rome's downfall. It certainly prepared the Roman masses passively to welcome the barbarian invaders." To quote Mowrer again: "Since people are obviously born 'free but different' a true democracy protects minorities and welcomes originality." Let our "good American" beware lest he too lose his freedom by default.

Another challenge which must be met before anyone can qualify as a "good citizen" is that of interest and intelligent participation in government. Tacitus remarked on the lack of this in first-century Rome as evidenced by historical writing: "After the battle of Actium, when in the interests of peace all authority was conferred on one man, great genius disappeared, and at the same time truth suffered in many ways, at first from ignorance of politics or government (*re publica*) as no longer a citizen's concern (*aliena*), soon from a desire to flatter or from hatred of the ruler."<sup>6</sup>

Cicero in an earlier period, as he discussed good government in the *De Re Publica*, referred frequently to the need for capable and responsible leaders. At one point he has Scipio the Younger say, "Another thing is by no means to be scorned. . . . I mean the art of government (*ratio civilis*) and the training of peoples (*disciplina populorum*), which in men of good character calls forth an almost incredible divine virtue."<sup>7</sup>

That too few Romans under the late Republic took the trouble to qualify as leaders is evident from remarks which Cicero directs to his son Marcus in the *De Officiis* to the effect that many Romans, particularly Stoics, avoid participation in government because they are afraid of encounter-

ing *ignominiam et infamiam*."<sup>8</sup> How many Americans are kept from entering politics because they do not wish to become involved in the "mudslinging" of political campaigns? Likewise, the handshaking required of the *candidatus* and the extravagant promises which seem a requisite of success are repugnant to many an honest and sincere man who is otherwise willing and able to serve his country in public offices.

Cicero continues: "These people then, whom Nature has endowed with abilities for that purpose, putting aside all hesitation, must seek office and manage the business of the government." It is especially important in a democracy like the United States that the best-qualified persons be chosen for positions of responsibility, and it is not only *their* duty to serve, but it is the duty of all voting citizens, as well, to support candidates of proven capability and integrity. In other words, good government depends on the intelligent interest of every citizen, and on his ability to make his own decisions without dumbly accepting the dicta of party politicians. Again the danger of conformity appears. Too often people with new ideas are not accepted, and it is the "Yes-man," the faithful party member, who is elected.

Although Cicero had urged that the man who undertakes a public duty should see that it be honorable (in the Stoic sense), we know that many public officials in Cicero's day were neither honest or competent. Under the Principate their duties fell into the hands of trusted freedmen in the service of the emperors, so that the real power was vested in a bureaucracy, and the old offices of the Republic became merely honorary.

So the "good Roman" of the late Republic surrendered his responsibilities under the Empire to the well-trained civil servant, who was often of non-Roman origin. How often in our country are important decisions made and large sums of money spent by efficient under-secretaries to the under-secretaries? Many top positions are held by unqualified party politicians and by political appointees and not by real statesmen who have the wisdom and the vision to determine what is best for our nation during election year and for the future as well. It is not too late for the self-styled "good American" to take a lesson from his Roman counterpart and to realize that his "goodness" is not good enough. By merely uttering pious sentiments of Americanism and loud declarations of patriotism without fully accepting the responsibilities of citi-

zenship, we are allowing government to fall into the hands of petty demagogues and surrendering the liberty which we have failed to exercise.

Carroll College,  
Waukesha, Wis.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> *Life*, March 19, 1956, p. 79.

<sup>2</sup> *De Re Pub.* 1. 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Agr.* 1. 2.

<sup>4</sup> *Christian Century*, April 6, 1955, pp. 420-22.

<sup>5</sup> *Saturday Review*, Feb. 5, 1955, pp. 7-8, 38-41.

<sup>6</sup> *Hist.* 1. 1.

<sup>7</sup> *De Re Pub.* 3. 3.

<sup>8</sup> *De Off.* 1. 21.

## A JUVENILE CLASSIC

BARBARA F. PRATT

*Niko: Sculptor's Apprentice* by Isabelle Lawrence. Illustrated by Artur Marovia. New York: The Viking Press, 1956. Pp. 184. \$2.50.

Isabelle Lawrence teaches Greek and Roman history in the Chicago Latin School—"with lots of life, literature, art, and architecture"—and writes historical stories with meticulous accuracy. Her range is a wide one from classical stories to colonial Virginia (*A Spy in Williamsburg*). The classical stories *The Gift of the Golden Cup*, *The Theft of the Golden Ring*, and this latest, *Niko: Sculptor's Apprentice* are being used in the schools to further knowledge of the Classics.

There are not too many such stories for children from ten years on, books which with good historical background bring alive a past civilization. Miss Lawrence has made a real contribution to today's booming field of children's literature with this delightful and fast-moving tale of life in the city of Athens during the Periclean period when the Parthenon was being built. It is good to have added to the list of fine children's books this story which blends adventure and excitement with the myths and treasures of the Greek civilization, so showing today's youngsters that people were not very different then.

Skillfully, with authentic backgrounds, she has interwoven three themes in her story: that of Niko, a twelve-year-old Athenian lad who desires to become a runner as great as the wing-footed Hermes and the illustrious Pheidippides; the mystery of the origin of the faithful slave, Peron, who was abandoned on a hillside in a blanket pinned with a Hermes brooch, to which he clings hopefully as a clue to his identity (shades of New Comedy); and a happy romance between Niko's widowed mother and Theo-

dorus, a rich merchant from Miletus.

How Niko sacrifices his deep wish to become a runner and in so doing finds fulfillment in a more creative occupation as a sculptor's apprentice under the great Phidias, and also wins the prized Theseus vase, how Peron's parents and Theodorus' family emerge as blood relations, so freeing Peron from slavery—these developments give the story fast-moving action so necessary to hold a child's interest.

A genuine creative spirit communicates to today's child Niko's feeling of awe and the greatness of this temple being constructed. When Niko impulsively widens the nostrils of the Moon Horse, horrifying his brother, Phidias' remark, that "Runners have a real sense of balance and space; you may someday try your hand," makes him a sympathetic human who realizes the boy has possibilities. The statues, pediments and friezes of the Parthenon are vividly described. Greek legends and myths animate the conversation; "a burnt barley cake" for supper naturally smells like an offering to the gods, and the appearance of Athena's owl of course scares the children for fear they have brought on her wrath by disrespect. The descriptions of the Greek home, the customs, the place of women, the traditional upbringing of the Athenian girl plus humorous little incidents (such as the introduction of the Egyptian "tail waving one" into the family circle) delightfully enliven the story.

*Niko* is a rich juvenile "classic" with action, plot, surprise, laughter, varied content, good description and a fundamental value of life: as Phidias tells Niko, "the most thrilling joy in the world is to create beauty."

Bloomington, Indiana

#### LEADERSHIP THROUGH THE LIBERAL STUDIES

BROTHER PATRICK S. COLLINS, FSCH

The perplexing character of today's world situation is convincing proof that only a leadership of the highest calibre will prove adequate to the demands made on it. The problems of our age, the need for mutual respect among the nations of the earth, the coexistence of contrasting political ideologies, to name but two, have forced our leaders at times to adopt policies renowned more for the fleeting security they promised than for the lasting peace they should have guaranteed. Hence, we might well ask ourselves: What type of leadership does our age need?

In the first place, our age needs a leadership that reflects both scholarly background and long-range outlook. We need statesmen and career diplomats with scholarly instincts, men able to assess the present-day effects of past causes. We need leaders, too, who demonstrate that intellectual integrity which issues from respect for a fact-filled past, and not from fear of an enigmatic present. Finally, we need leaders who aren't afraid to espouse the cause of traditionalism in an age of shallow expediency.

In addition, our age needs a leadership that is aware of a "sense of continuity" in human affairs. Such an awareness provides us with the means for so using the past that we may shape the best possible present. It arises from the consciousness that contemporary man is not a creator in any *ex nihilo* sense, but rather a builder using the raw materials supplied by the efforts of his predecessors. Leadership of this type is a responsible one, i.e., one responsible to the future for its use of the present, and one regarding the past, present and future as links in apodeictic concatenation.

At this point we might also ask ourselves: Can America produce such a hegemony? The answer is Yes—but only when her educational leaders restore the traditional balance between the liberal and the technological or scientific studies. Neither should be allowed to dominate the curriculum, and neither should be underrated; we need leaders aware of technology's merits, but not blind to those of the liberal studies. America will reach this goal when she realizes that she is part of the "family of nations" in world affairs, an entity boasting common origin, yet divergent traditions, and when she provides the educational means for knowing this origin and respecting those traditions, namely a re-vitalized liberal studies program and a re-vivified language-study curriculum.

Liberal education can produce such hegemony, because the liberal studies possess to a unique degree the power to equilibrate all things. In the first place, the liberal studies develop man in a balanced manner, neither allowing the necessities of the present to becloud his purpose in life, nor permitting the lessons of the past to escape him in his quest for a salutary present. Next, they conserve the educational balance between what is utilitarian and what is idealistic, and thus produce students saved from the excesses of both pragmatism and utopianism. Finally, though aware of his present needs, but not immobilized by their seeming imperiousness, man is in-



formed enough to appeal to the *thesaurus* of past human experience, not for its own sake alone, but for its ethical and instructive value.

It is not possible to be isolationist today. Politically, the United States can no longer hide behind any self-imposed Monroe Doctrine of aloofness to world affairs; intellectually, she must not indulge that arrogance which springs from material excellence or from the protection afforded by any "technological curtain." Therefore, America must be prepared to take a more active and a more intelligent part in human affairs, and, because she is thus forced to commingle with mankind, she must also be prepared to commune with that same mankind. Whereas the technological studies aim at enabling man to subjugate his physical environment, the liberal studies propose to supply him with the means whereby he can function on a person-to-person relationship with his fellow humans, and thus satisfy his basic need to act as a social being. Hence, liberal education, with language study as the core of such a program, providing, as it does, the sure means for attaining such communion, must be reaffirmed. Then and only then will America produce the leadership expected of her by the irenic-minded world.

Cardinal Farley Military Academy,  
Rhinecliff, New York

#### JUNIOR CLASSICAL LEAGUE PURPOSES AND PROJECTS

SISTER M. EDITH

Co-Chairman, Minnesota JCL

It is very heartening to realize that the study of Latin is being resumed by leaps and bounds in the public schools of our great country. You cannot keep a good thing down and the study of Latin is a very good thing.

I feel that the American Classical League has done much to place Latin before the eyes of the public, especially through the Junior Classical League; so much so in fact, that public demands have brought Latin back to hundreds of public high schools. The JCL was founded by the ACL in the fall of 1936. This past summer it was reported that there are 974 chapters with a membership of 40,001. That is an increase of nearly 9000 in the past year. Since 26 chapters were not registered in the Oxford office at the time, there were in reality 1000 chapters. The record also shows 25 state conventions, 4 regional, and one national.

The fundamental purpose of the JCL is

"to encourage an interest in and an appreciation of the civilization, language, literature and art of ancient Greece and Rome and to give our students some understanding of the debt of our own culture to that of classical antiquity."

In the October issue of *The Classical Outlook*, Dr. Carolyn Bock reports among other interesting facts that the ACL will offer five \$100.00 scholarships to 1957-1958 seniors who have been JCL members, if they continue studying Latin in college; also in the summer of 1957 three scholarships of \$500.00 to high-school teachers for study in the American Academy in Rome or the American School at Athens. These are projects that surely merit our commendation and promotion.

To help carry out the purposes of the JCL it might be helpful to enumerate some of the programs which have been presented by the various chapters.

The Roman banquet is becoming an annual event in many high schools. A regional unit in Connecticut presented Plautus' *Captivi* and a dancing group which interpreted some of Horace's *Odes*. Roman style shows are popular. An Oklahoma group undertook an ambitious project for high-school students—the staging of *Antigone*.

Many clubs make homecoming floats to help celebrate the football season every fall. The floats are cleverly executed and bear such captions as "Gifts for Caesar," "Veni, vidi, vici," etc. I, for one, would like to hear more about these floats.

Displays of Roman coins and pottery are interesting, as are scrapbooks, posters, costumes, crafts, artillery, etc., produced by students. Decorations for various JCL gatherings can also be suggestive of classical lore. A Latin version of Davy Crockett has possibilities and was presented at Jackson, Michigan. Historical skits are a great favorite among chapters and carry such titles as "Who Stole Nero's Fiddle?", "Scenes from the Life of Vergil," "Scenes from the *Aeneid*," "Cicero Walks with Washington (or Lincoln) at Midnight," "House of Pompeii-Style Show," "Wanderings of Ulysses," "Labors of Hercules." Dances too are excellent material, such as a Valentine or a Cupid Dance. Floralia on April 28 can be observed by sending flowers to sick friends. . . .

Local Latin newspapers are becoming more numerous and are often produced by JCL chapters. Some titles are *Vox Zephyri* (Wyoming), *Latinus Rumor* (Kansas City), *Vox Latina* (Ky.), *Nuntius Latinus* (La.), *Effusio* (Waco, Texas). Ours is called *Salvete*.



Some cities have sponsored Latin festivals. They must entail terrific leadership, expense, and labor, but I am convinced they are worth-while in proving that the JCL is a youth movement of enormous proportions and one that commends itself to parents, educators, teachers, and students.

*Cotter High School,  
Winona, Minnesota*

#### AMERICAN ACADEMY IN ROME POST

Herbert Bloch, Professor of Greek and Latin at Harvard University, has accepted the position of Professor-in-Charge of the School of Classical Studies of the American Academy in Rome for the academic years 1957-58 and 1958-59.

This announcement was made by James Kellum Smith, President of the Academy. Professor Bloch will be on leave from Harvard University where he has been a member of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences since 1942.

Born in Berlin, Professor Bloch studied at the universities of Berlin and Rome. He took part in the excavations of Ostia, 1938-39, before coming to the United States in 1939. In 1950-51 he resided at the American Academy in Rome as recipient of a Fulbright award for Italy and a Guggenheim Fellowship, and in 1953-54 he was a member of the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton.

Professor Bloch has published in the fields of Roman history and epigraphy and the topography of Rome; mediaeval history of Italy, with special emphasis on Monte Cassino; mediaeval Latin literature; and Greek historiography.

### Summer Sessions

Information regarding 1957 summer programs which has reached the FORUM desk is quoted below. We feel sure that the schools sending data represent only a partial list of those offering such programs.

#### STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

No Latin workshop is being planned for the summer of 1957 at SUI. Instead, we are offering a special program in the regular eight-week summer session which we hope may attract teachers who are presently engaged in teaching Latin and some who may wish to shift to Latin teaching and some who may wish to return to Latin teaching. Our staff will be composed of Clyde E. Murley, Myra Uhlfelder, Roger Hornsby, and Oscar Nybakken. We shall, therefore, be able to offer a fairly wide variety of courses. Professor Murley will

teach a special course for beginning and "returning" Latin teachers. We feel that the longer period affords a better opportunity for teachers to make progress in their studies and to lift themselves a rung or two on the academic ladder.

#### UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

*Summer Staff—1957:* Frank Copley, James E. Dunlap, Robert T. Otten, Orsamus M. Pearl, Gerda Seligson, Waldo E. Sweet, William H. Willis.

*Courses to be offered:* Elementary Greek; The Gospels of Matthew and Mark; Intermediate Greek; The Greek Drama in English Translation; Intensive Latin; Oral Methods in the Teaching of Latin; Teaching of Latin: Methods and Content of High School Latin; Introductory Medieval Latin; Elegiac Poets; The Letters of Cicero; Introduction to Latin Paleography; Problems in the Teaching of Latin; Petronius and the Roman Novel.

#### REMINDER

May—and time for the annual school inventory. We quote from an earlier FORUM:

A midwestern teacher recently remarked, "We Latin teachers do pretty well in pointing out to our students early in the fall the benefits they may expect to enjoy by taking Latin. How many of us remember to take time in the spring to assess the ones to date? Do our students feel that the product justifies the sales pitch at all stages?"

#### RECRUITING IN INDIANA

The Indiana Joint High School-College Latin Teachers Recruitment Committee, headed by Gertrude Ewing, has swung into action on "Operation Information." Material has been sent to Latin teachers for distribution to PTA Councils, local newspapers, and guidance personnel. Data on the "Indiana Level" will interest people in other areas: "410 calls for Latin teachers were received for the year 1956-57 (I.U. received 113 calls, 37 of which were for Latin alone); 202 of these calls were unduplicated; 7 graduates from all the schools were qualified to teach Latin."

"This was a 48 per cent increase in calls for Latin teachers over 1955-56. It was a 25 per cent increase in unduplicated calls. Some schools in Indiana had to drop Latin from the curriculum because they were unable to obtain a teacher.

"According to the statistics for 1953-54, there were almost 20,000 high school students enrolled in Latin classes in Indiana, more than in all other foreign languages

put together. As the older teachers retire, the Latin teacher shortage will become more serious, if we do nothing to replace ourselves. Thousands of our youth will be cheated of the benefits derived from the study of Latin."

#### VARIETY IN HIGH SCHOOL LATIN

DOROTHY WHITNEY

Seaside Union High School, like so many others, offers only two years of Latin. Therefore it is my custom during the latter part of the second year to abandon the textbook entirely and give the students samples from several classic authors, especially the poets. Most of the youngsters really enjoy it, after the first appalled exclamation of "Latin poetry! Me!" Since most of them will never have any Latin beyond these two years, they should have an opportunity to see for themselves that "made Latin" and Caesar are not the end. *Catullus 101* is usually among those read by my students. [See *Miss Whitney's translation in the February issue, p. 218.*]

*Seaside, Oregon*

#### FORUM READERS

We know of at least two articles appearing in the FORUM which have elicited replies for their authors: Bernice Fox' *Cicero's Essays in College* (Dec.) has brought numerous requests for the basic vocabulary lists and notes compiled by Miss Fox; the *Dies Irae* of Lorraine Strasheim (Feb.) has produced several letters of agreement with the ideas expressed, as well as requests for Miss Strasheim's Latin materials for beginners.

#### PRESIDENT-ELECT GOHEEN OF PRINCETON

WHITNEY J. OATES

Not only were members of the faculty of Princeton surprised but also her alumni and friends in academic and general circles were somewhat astonished when the Trustees of the University reached down to the rank of assistant professor to select Robert F. Goheen as her sixteenth President. Happily this appointment has met with widespread approval particularly among

those to whom the ideals of liberal education are dear and, of course, all classicists by definition fall into this category. But the classicists too could take legitimate satisfaction that one of their number was chosen, that indeed another member of the field could take his place beside Nathan Pusey of Harvard, in the fraternity of university heads, as an individual who was nurtured academically by the cultures of Greece and Rome. Some have said that this situation should boost the morale of classicists, in that persons thus educated have achieved academic eminence. Even to conceive that classical morale needs boosting invites a negative and defeatist attitude towards the problems classicists face, so it might be better to regard the presidencies of Pusey and Goheen as a striking mid-twentieth century validation of the high worth of the classicist's calling.

Born in India and receiving his secondary and college educations at Lawrenceville and Princeton, Goheen achieved unusual distinction in the U.S. Army, rising from draftee private to the rank of lieutenant colonel of infantry. Induced to enter the academic profession by being appointed one of the first four Woodrow Wilson Fellows, he developed rapidly into one of the most distinguished of the younger faculty at Princeton. Not only was he admired and respected as a teacher, but also his scholarly power was recognized immediately in his notable book, *The Poetic Imagery of Sophocles' Antigone*. His administrative capacity became evident in his successful term as the National Director of the Woodrow Wilson Fellowship Program. This brief biography becomes more meaningful when it is pointed out that the election of Goheen came as a result of the most thorough and comprehensive canvass of possible incumbents ever undertaken in the history of Princeton.

The President-designate concluded his first formal statement with this modification of the University's motto: *Dei Sub Numine Vigemus*. It is a good exhortation and lovers of liberal learning may well give it heed.

*Princeton University*

# Do-It-Yourself: How to Write Latin Verse

HARRY C. SCHNUR

WRITING LATIN VERSE demands compliance with certain fixed rules; it therefore challenges both intellect and imagination, very much like a chess problem, and provides a similar kind of satisfaction, with the added bonus of a modest feeling of creative achievement. This pursuit immensely increases our understanding of the Roman poets' technique, difficulties and felicities: of meter, rhythm and sound. As a do-it-yourself hobby, moreover, it is both independent of the weather and much less costly than, say, collecting incunabula or Old Masters.

Our equipment, in addition to some familiarity with the Roman poets, is a dictionary and a *Gradus ad Parnasum*.<sup>1</sup> Since hardly anyone nowadays is a native speaker of Latin, few of us can be sure of all Latin vocables and quantities; here, we rely on the dictionary, which will also tell us whether a given word is found in good classical usage. The *Gradus*, in addition to quantity, gives us synonyms and antonyms, cites relevant lines or phrases, and also lists adjectives grouped according to meter and declension.

The beginner should start with translation, not independent composition, bearing in mind the golden rule of all translation: reproduce ideas, not words, and in an idiomatic manner. Literal transposition, in prose or verse, from English into Latin will not result in Latin. "I could not care less, Caesar, whether you approve of me or not"—*non minus curare possim utrum me probes necne* will not do. Excessive reliance on the *Gradus*, on the other hand, will produce a mere cento; a middle course is indicated. And let us shun the unprecedented epithet: *vegetabilis* is found in late writers, but "our vegetable love" cannot be rendered as *amor vegetabilis*, nor "une nuit blanche" as *nox alba*.

## I. The Hexameter

The instructor<sup>2</sup> will begin by rearranging hexameter lines—first without, then with elision—in prose word order. *Sed tamen da nobis, Tityre, qui sit iste deus; aspice, iuveni referunt aratra suspensa iugo*. The student will thus grasp the first essential: begin your hexameter *at the end*, and the rest of the line will fall into place. Suppose he ends the above lines (acceptable metrically) *qui sit deus iste* and *aratra iuveni*: he will soon discover that the remaining words do not fit the line, and he will eventually, by trial and error, arrive at the solution. This exercise can be increased in difficulty by having sentences extending over several lines: *Meliboee, hic vidi illum iuvenem, cui nostra altaria quotannis bis senos dies fumant*. The student who has reached this stage is ready to compose his first hexameter.

What is a hexameter? It is emphatically not merely a line consisting of five dactyls or spondees, and a trochee (or spondee). If I may perpetrate two *monstra*:<sup>3</sup> *Juppiter optime maxime, dulcia munera dona, and: eheu! priscas nunc amisi libertates*, it will be seen that they conform to the metrical definition. However, the first line is not merely an intolerable jingle but also a *partipes*: each word is a self-contained foot. As a consequence, the essential charm of the hexameter line, the clash between verse ictus and word accent required in the second and third feet, is absent. The second line is also largely a *partipes* (which could be partly remedied by placing *nunc* before *priscas*) and all spondees. Moreover, it terminates in a four-syllable word, which is normally undesirable and permissible chiefly in the case of proper names (*Melicertes, Appenninus*).

We shall, then, avoid all-spondee lines (and spondees in the fifth foot).

Rhythm should vary from line to line; this depends on the sequence of dactyls and spondees which, in turn, produces major and minor pauses (caesura, diaeresis) where sense and sound require them. Our first horrible example of *partipes* has, if you will, five breaks (after each foot!), which is too many. The pause should not follow an unimportant or monosyllabic word, as in: *vir bonus et probus in pacto nam foedere constat* ("a gentleman keeps his word"). We afford some remedy to this line by recasting it: *vir bonus in pacto/nam condicione manebit*.

This pause after the first length in the third foot ("masculine" caesura), while good and very frequent, splits the line into two equal parts and therefore should not be employed in too many successive lines. A pleasant variation is the double break, after the first syllable of the second and the fourth feet. It imparts a graceful, tripping rhythm to the line: *ferre simul / Faunisque pedem / Dryadesque puellae*. The "bucolic" pause (after the fourth foot) should be accompanied by a "masculine" caesura in the third foot: *quo fugis, a, demens habitarunt/di quoque silvas*. The "feminine" caesura (after the trochee in the third foot) should be used only for special effect, as in this melodious line: *spargens umida mella / sporiferumque papaver*.

How not to do it is shown by these lines of ours ("Examination Jitters"): *papiliones in/stomachis volitant/hebetesque Mentis torpescunt, et solvit viscera terror*. First, literal translation of un-Latin idiom; second, principal break after unimportant monosyllable; third, secondary break in fifth foot with line terminating in four-syllable word; in the second line, inversion of the first two words would be better. It will be seen, then, that pouring the requisite number of long and short syllables into a line does not by itself make a hexameter: the garment must be made to fit.

### Square Pegs

Many words will not fit into the dactylic meter, because they contain irremediable cretics or tribrachs. For instance, the short second syllable of *angiportus* is embedded between two longs; the second, third and fourth syllables of *Alcibiades* are short. We see now why the nom. and acc. pl. of *arbor* cannot be used—which is why the poets employ *arbusta*.

Here is one way of getting around this difficulty; there are others. *Scipio* was scanned as a cretic in Vergil's time, which is why he used *Scipiades*; but we may avail ourselves of "Silver Age" usage in shortening the final -o of such names as *Curio* (Lucan). Next, a succession of shorts may be remedied by final elision (ecthipsis), or the last syllable may be lengthened by a following consonant. Thus, *hominis* must be followed by a word with initial consonant; *homines* (an anapaest) can be freely used, whereas *hominibus* is impossible, and something like *humanis* or *mortalibus* must be substituted. Nothing can be done, of course, about internal cretics: no form of *latinitas* can be used.

Remember also that the end-syllables -um, -am, -em, -im, while short by nature, cannot be employed as shorts in the hexameter since, if followed by a consonant, they become long, while followed by a vowel they must be elided. Partial remedy exists in the case of Greek words or names: where precedent can be found, Greek accusatives ending in -n or vowels may be substituted (*Periclēn, Anchisēn, Athon; Delōn, Parin; Orphea*). In other cases, the plural is used for the singular: *precibusque oracula poscas; quaesitum oracula rebus*.

This device also helps us to obtain short syllables, which are comparatively infrequent in Latin yet are badly needed for our dactyls. Another such device is the apostrophe, the direct address (even where not required by

sense), which gives us the short syllable of the vocative.<sup>4</sup> Lucan, for instance, uses the vocative in a simple enumeration of centaurs: *te . . . frangente, Monyche, saxa . . . teque . . . Rhoece ferox . . . et Phole*, etc. However, this highly artificial subterfuge should be employed with great caution.

#### Quantity

All quantities should be checked, since even etymology can be deceptive: we have *fidus* but (with short *i*) *fides*; *pār* but *pāriter* and *pārilis*; *stātum* but *prae-stātum*; and so forth. Deceptive, too, is our habitual (mis)pronunciation of words like *pūs*, *āmor* and the prefix *rē-*.

We have some leeway where quantity is optional (mute+liquid); we can also at a pinch employ synaeresis and diastole (*abyetis*; *sil-u-a*), but only where there is good precedent. Good precedent runs from Catullus<sup>5</sup> and Vergil to Ausonius and Claudian but does not cover the archaic (Ennius, Lucretius), or the plain goshawful (Commodianus).

There are, however, some precedents we should not follow because *quod licet lovi non licet bovi*. Under no circumstance may we lengthen a naturally short end vowel by two consonants beginning the following word—despite Vergil's *lappaequē tribulique*. Lengthening a short syllable before the caesura (*desine plura, puēr, et quod nunc instat agamus*) should be employed most sparingly.

There is authority for the converse procedure of retaining a short vowel before initial *sp* and *st*, so that we can defend phrases like, say, *iam splendet plurima stella* or *tua munera sperno* (*tua munera spreui* is of course inadmissible). Totally *verboten* is the medieval usage of *h* as a position-making consonant.<sup>6</sup>

Final *-e* must be closely watched (*latē*, but [short] *bene, superne*); some imperatives of the second conjugation may be used with short *-e*: *cave, tace*. Remember the imperative *putā*, but also the possibility of long vocative end-

ings (*Aeneā, Anchisā*, and *Anchisē* besides *Aeneā* and *Anchisā*).

#### Hiatus and Elision

The beginner will do well to avoid hiatus altogether, except in phrases like *o utinam*. Elision, too, should be used sparingly. Certain monosyllables (*do, sto, spem, sim*, etc.) are never elided, nor, as a rule, are iambic words. Interjections like *vae, heu, a* are never elided (elision before them is normal: *Taygeta o qui me gelidis*, etc.). Elision of *iam, dum, nam* can often be avoided by appending *-que*; for *enim, etenim* can be substituted. Despite respectable precedents, elision in the fifth foot should be avoided. *Atque* is often elided; hypermetric *-que* at end of line (if we want to employ this rather *recherché* device) must be elided by way of synaphea, i.e., the next line must begin with a vowel and there should be no break in the sense: *et magnos membrorum artus magna ossa lacertosque Exuit*.

Note that *-que* must not be appended to the active infinitive.<sup>7</sup>

#### Fitting Words into the Line

We have seen that certain words will not fit into the dactylic hexameter. In addition to the above-mentioned internal cretics or three or more unchangeable shorts, we also have words beginning with three consonants and a short first syllable, followed by a long, like *screator, strigosus* (very few). When certain words or proper names cannot be used, synonym or paraphrase must be employed; the desperate device of tmesis (*septemque triones*) is better not attempted.

Some numerals are clumsy and harsh-sounding: *quattuor, sedecim, duodecim* fit the meter hardly, or not at all. Hence we employ the distributive: *bis binos*, or substitute *tria lustra* for *quindecim annos*. "A year had now passed"—*iamque exactus erat bis senis mensibus annus*.

For certain awkward word-forms we have useful contractions: *nōram* for

*noveram, amâsse* for *amavisse, tenuère* for *tenuerunt*. *Dehinc* and some others may be scanned as one or two syllables; *mihi, tibi, ubi* as pyrrhics or iambs (so that *crede mihi* and *mihi crede* will fit equally well).

Now let us translate this phrase: "but when at the beginning of spring chill frost has fled." *Sed simulatque, vere incipiente, frigidum gelu fugit*. We attempt to recast this prose line in poetic form, first seeking for a line ending. *Fugit pruina?*—let's try *fugere pruinae*. Now we qualify the noun, not by the impossible cretic *frigidae*, but by the anapaestic *gelidae*—and beho'd! we have a hemistich: *gelidae fugere pruinae*. For the awkward *vere incipiente* we remember *vere novo*; now we have: (*sed simulatque*) *vere novo gelidae fugere pruinae*. *Simulatque* is too clumsy: *ubi* is shorter and can be scanned two ways. But now we are left with *sed ubi vere novo*, etc., and *sed* is short. So is *at*, and *autem* is unsuitable; but fortunately we remember the (exclusively poetic) *ast*. Now the line is complete: *ast ubi vere novo gelidae fugere pruinae*. We may, of course, play around with the line, recasting it with memories of *diffugere nives, glaciale gelu*, etc.

At an early stage the beginner should practice hyperbaton, separating nouns and adjectives with rhyming endings (as *gelidae . . . pruinae* above),<sup>8</sup> since jingle must be avoided. He should also begin to shun too many self-contained lines, because they become monotonous. The word(s) carried over to begin the next line should be emphatic; by practicing this we learn the sweet uses of anaphora:

occidet et serpens, et fallax herba  
veneni  
occidet; Assyrium volgo nascetur  
amomum.

#### Extension, Contraction, Padding

We try to render an English poem in the same number of lines; a sonnet will thus have 14 lines in Latin.<sup>9</sup> Since Latin is very much more concise than

English we may have to expand lines. This is best done by clothing nude nouns in appropriate (but not trite) adjectives. Here lies a pitfall. In describing an actual sea voyage I wanted to say: "the sea mew flies to and fro around the ship." For "ship" I picked a random synonym out of the two dozen or so available, *puppis*, rendered the fluttering of the bird by appropriate rhythm, and had

(long, short, short, long) *circumvolitat vaga gavia puppim*.

Needing a choriambic qualifier for *puppis*, I thoughtlessly stuck in *velivolam*—until a critic asked me whether I had been on a windjammer. It was a steamer—consequently: *fumivomam circumvolitat vaga gavia puppim*. Even then, *puppis* is not too happy, since only tankers emit smoke from their stern: but the jingle *gavia navem* had to be avoided.

The temptation to pad a line by putting in a word or syllable (such as *en, heu, nunc*) required by meter only, not by sense, should be resisted. As a rule, not more than one adjective should qualify a noun.

#### II. The Pentameter

In the elegiac distich, each two-line unit must be self-contained, i.e., the sentence may not carry on beyond the end of the pentameter. The pentameter is a highly restricted verse, since no substitution is permitted in the two dactyls of its second half. We likewise no longer have Catullus' freedom of elision before the caesura: *sed tu cum Tappone/omnia monstra facis; cessarent tristique imbre madere genae*. Elision in the second half of the pentameter should also be avoided, despite *sentio et exrucior*, and a line combining both these licences, like *quam modo qui me unum atque / unicum amicum habuit*, has been indefensible ever since Catullus.

Undesirable, too, is a monosyllable before the caesura: our made-up line *via bonus et probus in / condicione*



*manet* is bad, though two monosyllables are all right: *quam mihi, non si se / Iuppiter ipse petat* (Catullus).

In a series of distichs we shall do well not to couch the first half of every pentameter in nothing but dactyls, since this would become monotonous. Rhyme in the pentameter halves, if not overdone, is pleasant and permissible (*in vento et rapidâ scribere oportet aquâ*).

Now to the question of ending the pentameter with a two-syllable word *exclusively*. This is the book rule; but here we venture to disagree, preferring Greek and pre-Ovidian practice.<sup>10</sup> The deadly predictability of Ovid's pentameter ending makes for monotony. We shall at any rate try to avoid too many three-syllable words at the line endings, whereas choriambic words of four syllables are, in our view, thoroughly permissible. There is no objection either to ending the line with a monosyllabic form of *sum* (*dictaque factaque sunt*). We should avoid an end word terminating in a short vowel (*regia bella pede*).

Since the second half of the pentameter invariably requires four short syllables, we have to look for forms ending in short *-a* and *-e* (neuter plurals, vocatives, 3rd decl. ablatives), or words with initial vowel or *h* to enable us to employ short *-us* endings<sup>11</sup> preceding them.

### III. Conclusion

We sneer at the Alexandrian practice of writing a dozen versions of the same epigram (Ausonius loved this sort of thing), but it is excellent training for the incipient *versifex*.<sup>12</sup> We cannot strive for poetic originality: if we can

achieve a neatly turned phrase, some polished elegance, a few lines a Roman could have understood because they sound like Latin verse—then we have attained our aim, and upon our modest endeavors the Muse will have smiled.

Non quivis poterit Pimpleum scandere montem:

Præceps a Musis plurimus eicitur. Ast "voluisse sat est" dicunt "cum magna petuntur:"

Tu modicis coeptis, Musa, benigna fave!

New York University

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> I do not think that new *Gradus* have been published recently, but any number of them (whether of English or German origin does not matter, since they are usually all-Latin) are found on secondhand shelves.

<sup>2</sup> The student can do this himself. Helpful material is found in the usual handbooks on verse-writing, and in a very useful recent (n.d.) booklet, *Rudimenta Poetica (Tirocinium Helveticum)*, published in the series *Editiones Helveticae* by Orell Füssli, Zurich.

<sup>3</sup> All bad lines in this article are mine.

<sup>4</sup> *Te libans, Lenæe, vocat* (Verg.).

<sup>5</sup> However, many liberties taken by Catullus (see below under "The Pentameter") must be shunned by us.

<sup>6</sup> Likewise, medieval changes in quantity.

<sup>7</sup> Lucretius did it, but later convention banned it.

<sup>8</sup> But rhyme in the pentameter (see below) is good. Leonine hexameters, on the other hand, despite their occasional occurrence in the classic poets (*quot caelum stellis, tot habet tua Roma puellas*) should not be sought. Besides, they are much too difficult to sustain.

<sup>9</sup> Like almost all our "rules," this is subject to common-sense exceptions.

<sup>10</sup> Think of the fine, rolling cadence of this distich in four words (reputed to be a joint effort of Oxford and Cambridge):

Conturbabuntur Constantinopolitani

Innumerabilibus sollicitudinibus!

<sup>11</sup> And, of course, other closed short syllables.

<sup>12</sup> Our two distichs at the end of this article were sired, of course, by Catullus'

Mentula conatur Pimpleum scandere montem:

Musae furcillis præcipitem eiciunt and the well-known tag: *in magnis et voluisse sat est*.

## Editorial Page

### The White Index

We trust you will take advantage of the great service performed by Professor Dorrance S. White in preparing the *Classical Journal Index to Volumes 26-50*—and make very sure that your library does the same (see the back cover). This index will be an indispensable aid, and a mirror of the ideas and activities of many talented and dedicated people over the years 1930-1955.

### Mortalia Tangunt

The CAMWS Executive Committee has approved the policy of printing in *CJ* brief obituaries of past members of the Association. The Editor will have information from the committee which reports at the annual meeting, but will need assistance from friends and associates of former members.

### Too Many Groans?

The only criticism expressed during the Editor's first year came from a gentleman who asked why authors in *CJ* kept writing about the "decline" of our subject, while his enrollment has been increasing steadily up to a very substantial size; he proved his point by submitting figures to The Forum. Our colleague is right; we probably have been overindulging in lamentation. What is more, during the year we have heard much more optimistic sounds coursing through the pages. The Editor's *personal* view is that the worst of the depression is behind us, but that obviously we are still some reach away from the position which our field should occupy. Whether this gap will be closed depends largely on whether we succeed in recruiting superior candidates for all levels of our work. Those who are responsible for hiring new college Clas-

sics teachers know that we have right now a shortage at this level comparable to the dearth for the secondary schools. We have barely begun to impress this upon the general public. There is no reason now not to encourage all who promise success. Solution will require a prodigious effort.

### The Forum

Professor Fairchild's year-index shows that this has been a lively place—from "ACL Scholarship Plan" to "With the Colleges." All this activity doesn't just happen, as Margaret Forbes would be able to testify. Forty-four pages of varied items have required alert watch and energetic pursuit. You can help to keep forensic affairs active and healthy—as in the Republic—by bringing to this department your information, projects, the issues which bother you, and the ideas which you have created.

### Gratitude

Happily, the roster of the Editor's benefactors is much too long to print. In the immediate family, Mrs. Forbes and Professor Fairchild have been mentioned. We have had steady active support from the editorial representatives of the cooperating associations, Professors Krauss, Notopoulos, and Green. Professor De Lacy made it easy to undertake a new job. "Book Reviews" has shown Professor Steiner's helpfulness, and Professor Householder has kept it moving fast. Professor Thompson has brought us much news from the general press. Finally, since we must stop here, Professor Abel and Lloyd Hollister Inc., especially Mr. Paul Fiorio, have expertly guided the Editor and have been tolerant of his requests, which have not always been reasonable.

# NOTES

## Sophocles, Kitto, and Kennan

PROFESSOR KITTO is surely one of the most perceptive of the many scholars who are presently seeking fresh and useful insights on the interpretation of Greek tragedy. In his latest contribution, *Form and Meaning in Drama* (1956), he again demonstrates his rare ability to blend careful and scholarly textual analysis with imagination and common sense.

The book is full of challenging and persuasive exegesis, but the idea that stands out perhaps more than any other for this reader is summarized at the end of the chapter on Sophocles' *Antigone*. Mr. Kitto's analysis serves to remind us that "political science," as a theoretical study, still properly belongs in the area where it had its origin, i.e., as an all-important aspect of "moral philosophy."

A classicist, even in the middle of the twentieth century, should feel no particular jolt when this fundamental truth is brought forcibly to his attention. But it was a striking coincidence that on the very same day I had been reading and reflecting on the *Antigone* chapter, I came across another bit of print in a very different context. It was, in fact, quite startling to find an article in a popular American journal (*Saturday Evening Post*, November 24, 1956) restating impressively and in remarkably similar terms Kitto's and (no doubt) Sophocles' theme. The words are a transcript of a tape-recorded interview between Mr. Joseph Alsop and Mr. George Kennan, one-time American ambassador to Russia and now research professor of history at the Institute for Advanced Study.

Let us look at the two quotations closely juxtaposed. Here is Professor Kitto's summation of the "moral" in *Antigone* (pp. 177-78):

In this play he [Sophocles] does say a

great deal indeed about the state and statecraft: a statecraft which will try to pursue a traitor beyond the grave—and will also threaten to kill a young man's lover before his eyes; for these two things Sophocles has joined together, and a historian is ill-advised if he attempts to put them asunder. What Sophocles is saying here is very like what we shall find him saying in the *Ajax*: there are certain ultimates in human life which must be respected, and will be respected, because they are "divine." From short-sighted calculation (which in this case is Creon's honest but narrow statecraft) we may offend against them. If we do, they will recoil against us; not by the operation of any supernatural power (for the tragic poets' gods are not supernatural), but through the natural reactions of people who are big enough, or desperate enough, to follow their own instincts and ideals. Life has its own unbreakable laws, and in it, only half-hidden, are terrible forces. These we must always respect.

And now for Professor Kennan's observations on the cause of the recent uprisings in eastern Europe (pp. 120-21):

"And these events do have grandeur, very great grandeur, because they are visible proof that certain principles, certain moral principles, really must be observed in the long run in the successful government of great peoples. These events prove that if those principles are consistently violated over a long period of time, this violation avenges itself. It inevitably produces trouble and disorder and even greater violence and bloodshed and tragedy. The Soviet government has ignored these principles, has denied these principles, for a very long time indeed; and they are getting the results of that in eastern Europe today. After long years of patient suffering, the peoples of the satellites are reacting, very valiantly reacting, against the treatment they have been subjected to." ALSOP: "In short, George, you're arguing that evil in government brings its own reward." KENNAN: "It brings its own reward. This is my deepest belief. There are great truths in this world about human nature that have to be observed if government is going to be

successful. We in America did not create those truths. I only think we were informed of some of them by the founding fathers of our country and, to some extent, we have remembered them. And to the extent that we stick with them ourselves and have confidence in them, we shall at least have a great power of example. Let us not inflate our claim beyond that point. If, as I had long and desperately hoped, greater freedom is coming to eastern Europe, it is coming because there are, after all, healthy forces in all peoples, and those forces are now asserting themselves. We didn't create those forces. They were there. God created them, in my opinion."

In such contexts there is surely meeting ground for diplomat, historian, philosopher, and classicist. Without unduly idealizing the founding fathers of this

country, we can sense in them (and I think in Mr. Kennan too) a grasp of human aspirations and motives which has its roots in the Athens of Pericles and Sophocles. And we classicists, with a tradition of this sort to draw on, must ourselves bear a good share of the blame if our students and colleagues find our handling of classical studies out-dated and irrelevant to modern problems.<sup>1</sup>

WILLIAM A. McDONALD

University of Minnesota

NOTE

<sup>1</sup> I wish to acknowledge the courtesy of Methuen and Company, Limited for allowing me to quote from Professor Kitto's book, and of Professor Kennan and Joseph Alsop for permission to reproduce the excerpt from the interview published in the *Saturday Evening Post*.

### Hadrian's Delight

IN LEAFING THROUGH the *Historia Augusta*, I noted the following information in Spartianus' *Vita Hadriani* (21. 4): *Inter cibos unice amavit tetrafarmacum quod erat de fasiano, sumine, perna, et crustulo*. This combination seemed worth trying. Of course, I do not keep pheasant and sow's paunch in my refrigerator ordinarily, but I followed Horace's inference that meal planning is like campaigning (*Sat.* 2. 8. 73) and adapted the recipe to circumstances when some cold chicken, bacon, and ham were on hand.

The dish was not original with Hadrian, for Spartianus tells us that Aelius Verus invented it (*Ael. Ver.* 5. 4): *Nam tetrafarmacum seu potius pentafarmacum, quo postea semper Hadrianus est usus, ipse dicitur repperisse, hoc est sumen, fasianum, pavonem, pernam crustulatum et aprunam*.

Without any attempt to substitute ingredients for the wild boar and peacock in this de luxe version, here is my recipe for a tetrafarmacum. For a nine-inch pie plate (use any good

pie-crust recipe or package mix): mix 2 cups diced chicken, cooked with onion, carrot, parsley, celery; 1 cup diced ham (the ham hock or end of boiled ham); 3 slices,  $\frac{1}{8}$  inch thick, of lean bacon in strips;  $\frac{1}{2}$  cup broth from the chicken. Bake as any covered pie, after pricking the top with "A H" for Aelius Hadrianus. This makes six to eight good-sized wedges. I herewith offer this recipe to the readers of *CJ* both *libens* and *confidens*, since I have already tried it on guests *non sine plausibus*.

That the pie may be eaten hot or cold is suggested by Lampridius (*Alex. Sev.* 30. 6). After discussing Alexander Severus' habits of exercising and bathing and taking a snack before dinner, he adds: *Usus est Hadriani tetrafarmacum frequenter*. Thence I infer that upon emerging hungry from the baths, the Emperor might have ordered, "Effer mihi, puer" — not a hamburger or even a pizza, but a tetrafarmacum.

ERNESTINE F. LEON

The University of Texas

## Colored Sawdust

AN ASSOCIATED PRESS dispatch for March 16, 1956 under date line of St. Louis tells of one Jack O'Shea, a tavern keeper, who, as St. Patrick's Day approaches, does a flourishing business selling sawdust dyed green. Several years ago for the good Saint's feast O'Shea began sprinkling the green sawdust on the floor of his tavern, but only last year did he offer it for sale. Since then he had sold 3½ tons at \$1 per 100-pound sack, and orders were pouring in for the stuff that suggests to the sentimental rather palpably, I suppose, the "ould sod" of the Emerald Isle.

The use of colored sawdust for festive occasions is by no means a new idea. It has antecedents in classical antiquity. At Trimalchio's lavish banquet for his *nouveau-riche* friends, when the dessert was served slaves strewed the pavement of the triclinium with sawdust (*scobis*) tinted with red-lead and saffron, and enhanced the color effect by further sprinkling about powdered mica, a substance which Encolpios avers never to have seen before.<sup>1</sup>

The reader of the *Satyricon* is amused at this bizarre novelty of colored sawdust. However, at this point in the account of the *Cena* he is well aware that Trimalchio is very color-conscious. The colorful staging for the dessert is nothing so extraordinary of a host who has taken care that even the cushions have either purple or scarlet stuffing (38.5). Moreover, this is the master who earlier in the banquet had a slave flogged because the poor wretch was so lacking in a sense of the aesthetic as to bring a white woolen bandage instead of purple when first-aid was required for Trimalchio's bruised arm (54.4). Couldn't he see that his master was wearing a scarlet mantle set off by a cloth with the broad purple senatorial stripe and fringe thrown about his neck?

Not only do the colors of the sawdust harmonize with the general color scheme, but also they are significant as deriving from vermilion or red-lead (*minium*) and saffron (*crocum*) with its yellow fragrance. These substances were the prerogatives of the majesty of princes, to whom Trimalchio, of course, would equate himself. Caligula for example, had the Circus strewn with red-lead and chrysocolla, a gleaming mineral, varying in color from blue to copper green, whenever he held special games in which the charioteers were men of the senatorial class (Suet. *Cal.* 18). Saffron, calculated to inspire religious awe, was repeatedly scattered over the streets in which Nero rode in triumph after his return to Rome from Greece (Suet. *Nero* 25).

The use of powdered mica may be compared to the strewing of small flakes (*ramenta*) of mica in the Circus Maximus during the *ludi circenses* that the resulting gleam and glitter might acclaim the contestants, *ut sit in commendatione candor*, as Pliny the Elder so aptly puts the idea (36.45). At the *Cena* beneath the glow of many lamps the specks of mica-dust would have glistened most attractively.

Unlike ordinary sawdust (cf. Hor. *Sat.* 2. 4. 81; Juv. 14. 66 f.) for cleaning purposes, this colored variety, constituting so exotic a floor covering, was not intended to be swept up immediately. Moreover, Trimalchio's words<sup>2</sup> at this point indicate, I believe, that he considers the floor display as an integral part of the *ferculum* of the dessert—an elegant accessory for the change of tables. Is it not this aesthetic effect which makes him content?

Finally, in the passage under discussion there is more of the symbolic element than appears at first sight, or the commentaries allow. In his use of colored sawdust and mica, is not Trimalchio with his consummate showmanship purposely aping the custom at the

Circus games of strewing the arena with bright-colored substances (see above)?<sup>3</sup> In addition to the cogent argument of the more or less chronological correspondence between a public usage and a private adaptation of the same, yet an even more important argument can be adduced. The dominant theme pervading the dinner of Trimalchio is the life and apparatus of the Circus and the amphitheatre. Whether the *lautissimus homo* always intended it thus, is beside the point. At least it appeared so to our narrator Encolpios as a guest, and therefore we may assume that the author wished it that way. On such a *leit-motif* the satire depends for much of its force.

The limits of the present note are such that I cannot develop the thesis just mentioned. However, let one example be admitted which not only illustrates the above-stated dominant theme, but also has a certain relation to the main subject of our discussion. After the *antipasto* the floor had been

swept. Immediately thereupon entered two long-haired Ethiopians carrying small skins "just like those which customarily strew sand in the amphitheatre." In this instance they are used for an ancient version of the fingerbowl, pouring wine, however, instead of water on the hands of the guests (34. 4). It would appear from his words of comparison that Encolpios almost expected sand to be sprinkled on the floor at that juncture. In any case, he would soon be convinced that the dining room of Trimalchio was a veritable arena.

HUGH H. DAVIS

#### *Le Moyne College*

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Petr. 68. 1: *Interposito deinde spatio cum secundas mensas Trimalchio iussisset afferri, sustulerunt servi omnes mensas, et alias attulerunt, scobemque, croco et minio tinctam, sparserunt, et, quod nunquam ante videram, ex lapide speculari pulverem tritum.*

<sup>2</sup> 68. 2: *Statim Trimalchio "poteram quidem" inquit "hoc fericulo esse contentus; secundas enim mensas habetis."*

<sup>3</sup> Cf. also a very pertinent place in Plin. 33. 27: *Visumque iam est Neronis principis spectaculis arenam Circi chrysocolla sterni, cum ipse concolori panno aurigaturus esset.*

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### Announcements

1. The Eta Sigma Phi Scholarship Committee has announced the winner of their first scholarship: Mr. Donald R. Laing, Jr., Washington and Jefferson College. The grant of \$500, given jointly by the Trustees of Eta Sigma Phi and the Managing Committee of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, is for study in Athens this coming summer.
2. Rome Prize Fellowships for study at the American Academy in 1957-58 have been awarded to classicists: Lydia Halle, Bryn Mawr College; John O. Lenaghan, Princeton University; Chester F. Natunewicz, Yale University.
3. The Third International Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy will be held in Rome, September 4-8, 1957. Correspond with: Segreteria del Comitato Organizzatore del III Congresso Internazionale di Epigrafia Greca e Latina, Città Universitaria, Roma.



# We See by the Papers

GRAVES H. THOMPSON, EDITOR

## ANCIENT PTOLEMY AND MODERN MISSILES

*Not that we understand all we see in the papers, especially when it concerns science or the T-formation, but an interesting U.P. item out of Van Nuys, California, gives a little boost to the sagging reputation of Claudius Ptolemy. At this we are delighted, having long felt that life and the universe were much simpler when the latter ran by his system. The clipping is from the Daily Herald-Telephone of Bloomington, Indiana, February 12, 1957.*

Mathematicians at the Lockheed Missile Systems division here recently found that formulas of astronomer Claudius Ptolemy in ancient Egypt may help modern scientists in their conquest of space.

The problem concerned the scientists' need to keep in touch with missiles in flight so they can learn how they perform and how they can be improved. The specific headache was the fact that the magnetic tape system used in recording the radio signals from a missile in flight, got "jammed."

The sound recorded on the tape is subject to what engineers call "flutter" and "wow"—or distortion when played back. They sought a mathematical formula which could be used to chart a series of variations for an average.

They tried a formula stemming from a technique that Ptolemy had used to try to explain the puzzling variations of certain planets in relation to the stars. It worked. As a result, the missile division expects to be able to process data much more swiftly and accurately.

Ptolemy, born in Greece, practiced astronomy in Alexandria, Egypt, shortly after Christ was born. He supposed the earth to be a fixed center of the universe about which the sun and stars revolved. Today's scientists know he was all wet as an astronomer, but his reputation as a sharp mathematician remains.

## ON THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL FRONT

*It is seldom that there is nothing to report from the archaeologists. This month offers two items.*

The first, headed "Scientific Tomb-Robbing," is from Time, February 25, and tells how "Amateur Archaeologist Carlo Lerici was proving that modern scientific tech-

*niques can take the gamble and much of the secret out of Etruscan tomb-hunting." The article reads in part:*

Handsome, grey-haired Carlo Lerici, who says "grave-robbing is the second oldest profession in the world," is an engineer whose family owns a steel mill in Milan. When he became interested in Etruscan tombs, one of his first steps was to get copies of a photographic air survey. . . . Studied carefully, the photos often show hundreds of shadowy circles. These are Etruscan tombs, which affect slightly the fertility of the soil and therefore the darkness of the chlorophyll in green plants growing on the surface. When air photos are taken after a light snowfall, the tombs often show up as snowy patches surrounded by dark ground where the snow has melted.

Guided by the air photos to a tomb area near Cerveteri (the ancient Etruscan Caere), Lerici trotted out another scientific trick. From the ground the tombs are invisible, but he found that sensitive photometers could detect the slight differences of color between grass growing over a tomb and ordinary grass.

Next step was to drive metal stakes in the ground about 15 ft. apart, send a weak electric current between them, and measure in this way the electrical resistance of the soil. Since the air space of a tomb raises the resistance and the filled-in earth at its entrance lowers the resistance, a few readings often tell the diggers exactly where to dig.

Such scientific gear still does not answer the No. 1 question: Is there anything in the tomb? So Lerici pulls another technical trick. With a gasoline-powered drill he drills a 3-in. hole through the earth and the roof of the tomb and inserts an aluminum tube. Inside the tube is a 16-mm. camera with an electronic flash. Starting at compass north and looking all around, it takes twelve or more pictures of the tomb's interior, showing whether it has been looted or whether it still contains articles worth digging for.

So far, Lerici's new techniques have located 60 tombs, twelve of which were opened. They contained about 100 museum-worthy objects, including jars of a whitish powder believed to be 2,500-year-old flour. Most interesting find was a decorated vase, probably imported from Greece in the 7th

century B.C. In the next three months Lerici intends to photograph the interiors of 300 more tombs and hopes to find at least 1,000 more museum pieces.

\* \* \*

An Associated Press dispatch from Athens (*Richmond News Leader*, February 21) tells how "a Swedish archeologist who cracked the mystery of ancient Cretan writing from copies will visit the island to see the real thing." Professor Arne Furumark of Uppsala University and head of the Swedish Institute of Classical Studies in Athens, was to examine about 200 original clay tablets found at Hagia Triada on Crete. The article continues:

The archeologist found the key to linear script A by studying the frequency with which various characters occur, and by comparing their variations for inflexions, gender, or even differences in spelling.

Furumark has drawn some conclusions from his research about the ancient Cretans or Minoans, whose culture reached a high peak in their palace at Knossos. He says they were not Greeks and probably went to Crete from southwest Asia Minor about 3000 B.C.

He calls their language definitely Indo-European . . . with a basis comparable to Hittite. . . .

#### CAMWS PROFESSORS IN THE PAPERS

From *The Classical Journal* (January, 1957) to the *Louisville Courier-Journal* (February 4) and back again to *CJ* is the story of Indiana's Verne B. Schuman and his article "Life from the Desert Sand." The newspaper cites, and our readers will recall, the soldier who wrote his mother: "I give thanks to Sarapis and Good Fortune that while all are laboring the whole day through at cutting stones I, as an officer, go about doing nothing"; the problem-child named Theon who was upset because his father hadn't taken him to Alexandria and wrote this ultimatum: "Send for me then, I beseech you. If you do not send, I won't eat, I won't drink. There now!"; a student who reminded his father that "the chariots . . . were smashed up, as I have already written to you"; and Artemisia, who wrote to book a trio of dancing girls for a six-day house party but offered only two donkeys for transportation.

\* \* \*

The Kentucky Kernel, *University of Kentucky student newspaper*, on February 15 ran a considerable article (sent us by Professor Jonah Skiles) on an old friend. It

began:

A short bespectacled 81-year-old professor of the classics is still working as feverishly as when he started teaching in 1899.

Dr. Wilbert Lester Carr, professor emeritus of the Ancient Languages Department, works a full eight hour day and even returns to the campus on Saturdays to finish the odds and ends of his many activities. Dr. Carr is surprisingly spry for his age although he was given his emeritus status 15 years ago. . . .

#### BRITISH INTELLIGENCE

On the light side, our correspondent from Trinity School, Croydon, England, D. Wm. Blandford, sends in two small items, each bearing that indescribable English touch.

The first is an extract from an "Advertiser's Announcement" in *Woman's Own*, December 27, 1956. Apparently there is no connection with the Fabian Society.

You should try PLJ's Fabian Slimming Method.

The principle of the Fabian Slimming Method is as old as the hills of Rome itself—for it takes its name from Quintus Fabius, the general who subjected Hannibal to war on the "never-never" system. His "do it gradually" tactics reduced Hannibal's weight—and they will do the same for you.

A cutting from "Far and Near," items in the *Daily Mail*, dated January 11, 1957:

Bed and b., woad extra

A HOLIDAYMAKER has inquired for accommodation at Whelberry Camp, Somerset.

The last time this camp was occupied was when the ancient Britons were turned out by the Romans.

\* \* \*

To which we might add a letter to the Editor of the *London Times*, reprinted in *The New Yorker*:

Sir.—As I waited in the rain on the steps of the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge I noticed that, in the semi-circular high-relief above the entrance, Phoebe Apollo (who apparently shared with Boadicea of Westminster a misplaced confidence in remote control) is driving the chariot of the sun without any reins. No wonder we have such unspeakable weather!

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

J. VASSALL ADAMS,

Weir Cottage, Marlow, Buckinghamshire.

Comment of *The New Yorker*: "Nonsense, it's these bomb tests."

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# BOOK REVIEWS

FRED W. HOUSEHOLDER, JR., EDITOR

*Roman Civilization: Selected Readings.* Edited with an Introduction and Notes by NAPHTALI LEWIS and MEYER REINHOLD. Vol. II: The Empire. (*Records of Civilization, Sources and Studies*, No. 45) New York: Columbia University Press, 1955. Pp. x. 652. \$7.50.

THE EDITORS WROTE in the Preface of Volume I (reviewed by J. H. Turner in *CJ* 50 [1955] 190 f.) that the second volume would "cover the period from 27 B.C. to the fourth century A.D., and . . . contain in addition special chapters on law, technical matters, and religions (especially Christianity)." Their hope has been more than fulfilled, to the great benefit of "the students in our colleges, for whom this work is primarily intended" (p. viii). As a reference work of source material for collateral reading in courses dealing with Roman History and Civilization it is unsurpassed at the present time. "Of the six hundred or so selections from the literary, epigraphical, and papyrological sources included in this volume, more than two hundred are now for the first time made available in English translation" (p. vii). These selections are divided among chapters on The Augustan Age (I), The Roman Peace (A.D. 14-192) (II, Imperial Policy and Administration; III, Economic Life; IV, Society and Culture, Science and Pseudo Science in the Roman Empire; V, Life in the Municipalities and Provinces), The Crisis of the Third Century and the Emergence of the Byzantine State, A.D. 193-337 (VI, The Reforms of Diocletian, The Age of Constantine), The Roman Army (VII), Roman Law (VIII), and The Conflict of Religions and the Triumph of Christianity (IX).

For brief introductions to the writers of the imperial period, Christian writers, legal sources, inscriptions, papyri, and coins, the student must still consult Volume I (pp. 17-45). The tremendously great advantage of the second over the first volume is the large number of cross references to Volume I. These have proved singularly accurate, as have also the hundreds of cross references in Volume II itself. The editors' accomplishments have so deeply impressed me that, if I were to omit details, I could end this review with a quotation from their translation of Hadrian's address to the First Company of Pannonians (p. 509): "If there

were anything lacking I should notice it; if there were anything conspicuously bad, I should point it out. But you pleased me uniformly throughout the whole exercise."

Now to comment on some details. Could the editors possibly prevail upon their publishers to provide paragraph numbers at the top of the page along with the lead and to change chapter and selection references to page references (footnotes are numbered consecutively within each chapter and run from a minimum of 38 to a maximum of 227)? Few college students of our era will follow through this time-consuming chore. Page references would also be more accurate, since selection references in particular were not always clear. How much simpler it is to locate "see above, p. 262" (p. 370, n. 133) than "see introduction to §67, second selection" (p. 515, n. 22)!

The translations, original and borrowed, are in general commendable. Examples of passages where caution must be exercised are Tacitus, *Annals* 1. 2 (p. 4: can *provinciae* be the antecedent of *quae*?) and Aulus Gellius, *Attic Nights* 5. 6 (p. 123, n. 102: misinterpretation of "now," the Loeb translation of *autem*?). In view of the many changes made in this latter passage, should it not be labeled "From" or "Adapted from" (see p. vii), rather than "Quoted from the Loeb Classical Library"? Some liberties, unless they are errors, have also been taken with other quotations, e.g., on pages 130, 297 (where the Bailey reference should be to p. 265), and 427. Improvements have frequently been made upon the sometimes pedestrian Loeb translations, though I do not care for "suasory" (p. 291) and "pig-sheep-bull sacrifices" (p. 553). The Loeb translation of Quintilian (p. 288) has been corrected twice.

Misprints number at least fifteen, but are easily emended. Also, p. 259, n. 96: not even Trimachio locates Tarracina in Campania and Tarentum in Apulia. P. 301: indicate here and in Index that "Sarapis" equals "Serapis." P. 385, n. 161: a time-consuming note; the reference is to p. 215, but exactly the same information is repeated and expanded on p. 387, n. 167. P. 425, n. 18: reference to p. 435, n. 47 would be in order. P. 441: add footnote to "agio." P. 452, line 8: why omit "Caesar" between the words "Emperor Marcus"?

Ditto, p. 521, line 6, between the words "Emperor Titus." P. 453, n. 77: for clarity read Note 54 above. P. 464: the TAPA reference should end at p. 174 (correct in Bibliography on p. 632). P. 585, n. 56: the reference to Tacitus, *Histories* seems inaccurate; possibly read or add "5. 4. 3" (Goelzer) or "5. 4. 2" (Giarratano). P. 587, n. 61: the dates for Galen differ from those given on p. 312, n. 181.

Brief translations of contrasting prophecies for Rome from Rutilius Namatianus and Seneca the Younger form an Epilogue (p. 611) to this volume. A three-page "Glossary of Frequent Terms" adds some twenty-five terms to those repeated from the Glossary of Volume I. (Will the student who does not know "LICTOR" be helped by "who served as his apparitor"? ) The Bibliography (pp. 617-38) is most generous and, where checked, accurate. References to the chapter bibliographies are made at the end of each chapter in the text. Volume II concludes with an Index of Authors and Documents (pp. 639-41) and a General Index (pp. 642-52). The latter makes no pretense at inclusiveness (e.g., *s.v.* "Gallienus" could be added 425 and 436, n. 47; there is no entry "Juthungians," although a section is devoted to "Negotiations with the Juthungians" on pp. 435 f., and the name appears on p. 425, n. 18). However, it is serviceable and usually accurate, though a number of vacuous references (e.g., "Funerary inscriptions, see Tombstones"; read "see Sepulture"? ) could be advantageously eliminated.

FRANK GIVENS PICKEL

University of Vermont

*Latin*. By FREDERIC M. WHELOCK. (College Outline Series) New York: Barnes and Noble, Inc., 1956. Pp. xxxiii, 301. \$1.95.

THIS BOOK IS NOT an outline, as one might expect, but a full-fledged Latin grammar, capable of serving for a beginning course in college. It is carefully organized and obviously embodies a great deal of classroom experience. By its form it requires the grammar-reading or grammar-translation method of teaching, and is not comparable with such books as *Using Latin and Latin for Americans*. Wheelock has designed the book for mature, well-motivated students; it would be admirable for a college beginning course, for a fast review course or for an adult working alone, but it is out of the question for high schools.

The book comprises six parts: an introduction, forty lessons, reading selections, an

appendix, general vocabularies (English-Latin and Latin-English), and a grammatical index.

The introduction includes a discussion of the place of Latin among the Indo-European languages, the relationship of the Romance languages to one another and to Latin, and the formation of English, as well as a six and one-half page sketch of Latin literature from its origins to the present day and the usual information on pronunciation and syllabification. The tone is refreshingly mature. The material is given in simple form; yet Wheelock assumes that the book will be used by students whose interests and abilities lie along linguistic lines, and avoids the condescending tone so often found in elementary books. The lethargic "language-requirement" victim will, perhaps, be repelled or confused by the richness of information, but many teachers will feel, with me, that our first consideration must be to nourish capable students rather than to starve them so as to avoid giving indigestion to others who should not be in the class at all.

Of the forty lessons some will require more than one meeting; Wheelock has organized them to divide neatly, with this eventuality in mind. After the grammatical material there are separate word-lists for active and "recognition" vocabulary. Most teachers will want the students to memorize both. Word-stresses are indicated by acute accents in lesson-paradigms and lesson-vocabularies (though not in the general paradigms and vocabularies at the end of the book). English derivatives are given in profusion. There follow practice sentences (about two-thirds of them Latin-English) and a further unit called "Sententiae Antiquae" made up of quotations from (mostly) classical authors, usually simplified. The authors are identified and any unfamiliar words are supplied after the individual quotations. Each lesson ends with a short paragraph on English etymologies, and, often, with information on families of Romance words.

After the lessons come eighteen pages of reading selections ("Loci Antiqui"), consisting of short passages on a variety of subjects from all of Latin literature. The passages are simplified in varying degrees (some not at all), and represent authors from Catullus to Caesar of Heisterbach. About one-third of the material is from Cicero.

The appendix includes eight pages of "Etymological Aids" (Latin sound-changes

in composition, prefixes and suffixes), five and one-half pages of "Supplementary Syntax" and the general paradigms. The etymological aids, though they may be of little help or interest to the mediocre student, will be highly useful to the good one. Several usages are classified as supplementary syntax which seem by their importance to deserve a place in the body of the text: e.g., genitive and ablative of description, dative of possession, ablatives of specification and comparison. The general paradigms have been carefully organized so that the student can see at a glance, in horizontal arrangement, groups of words related in form or function. Though these tables are more satisfactory than most, there is still too much duplication. The basic inflections of Latin can be presented in far fewer pages than are usually employed, and with less confusing repetition. It is hard to understand, for instance, why the natural order of cases (i.e., nom., acc., abl., dat., gen.) and genders (n., m., f. or reverse), and the most illuminating alignment of declensions (i.e., 2nd, 1st, 5th, 4th, 3rd) have not long since been made standard. With such an arrangement similar forms would be brought together, and once

the needless duplication of verb-forms in the imperfect, future, and all perfect tenses (where there are only one, two, and one conjugations respectively) were removed, general paradigms could be brought within reasonable compass.

Both the general vocabularies and the thorough grammatical index seem, upon sampling, to be accurate and satisfactory.

A two-semester college course, especially if it met five times a week, would require additional reading to supplement this book in the second semester. There are a few trivial misprints scattered throughout the book; the only serious one which I noted was on p. 31, where in the summary of masculine and feminine noun-endings of the consonant declension the accusative and ablative singular endings have been interchanged. There are some statements at which a classical or Romance linguist might cavil, and, perhaps, a few points among the many etymologies which might be disputed; these questions are of minor importance in an elementary text, and the liveliness and interest lent by such extra material far outweigh whatever minute flaws there may be.

I have devoted so much space to a notice

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of a Latin primer from the conviction that a good elementary text, with its potential effect on recruitment and general interest, may be an important force toward remedying the situation of classical studies in this country. In my opinion, this book more nearly meets the serious need for a college elementary text than any which has seen the light so far, and, despite its unpretentious appearance, might well become the standard text wherever students of mature purpose wish to learn Latin. It outdistances its nearest competitor by far, and if it is a little light on vocabulary load, this is better than being impossibly heavy. The next time I teach elementary Latin I intend to adopt it.

ROBERT J. LESLIE

*Indiana University*

*Ancient Mycenae: The Capital City of Agamemnon.* By GEORGE E. MYLONAS. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1957. Pp. ix, 201; 87 figs. in plates. \$7.50.

THE EARTH OF MYCENAE, seemingly so thin and bare, hardly looks capable of yielding more treasure and relics of its tradition of glory than had been granted to Schliemann and subsequent explorers of the acropolis through the 1920's; but the earth is always giving up secrets, and within the last half-dozen years, in the dusty road in front of the Lion Gate and on the thorny slopes below, have been revealed more of the life not only of Homer's heroes, but of their predecessors hitherto hardly suspected. The dramatic reality of this continuing vitality of Mycenae is demonstrated by Professor Mylonas' book, which, while appearing only eight years after Wace's beautiful volume on Mycenae, can still have large sections on material wholly unknown in 1949.

Mylonas' book attempts to describe all the major remains discovered so far at the site, and the literary and traditional evidence, fitting them into their historical position. Thus the first chapter deals with the tradition of myth and legend; subsequent chapters with the fortifications, the palace, the outlying buildings and community, the tombs. The chief novelties are the accounts of the houses excavated in 1950-54, and the second grave circle in front of the Lion Gate, excavated by the Greek Archaeological Service with Mylonas participating, in 1952-54.

Although much of the material is generally familiar in some form or other, none escapes new illumination in some de-

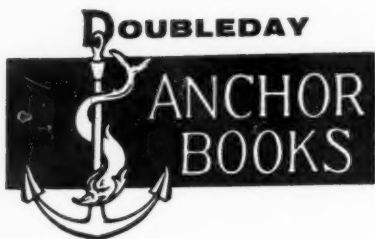
gree from the enthusiastic brilliance of the author. Sometimes he advances and develops hypotheses of his own, as in correlating the legendary traditions to archaeological record, the chronology of the fortification, the practices of burial. Not everyone will want to follow all the hypotheses the whole way, but no one will want to ignore any of them. Sometimes he brings to the picture the new materials worked by other scholars (seldom without some significant contribution of his own) as in the restoration of the door of the Treasury of Atreus, and information on the conservation and reconstruction measures being taken around the site. But undoubtedly the most conspicuous matter is the account of the houses below the Lion Gate and the Treasury of Clytemnestra, and the new grave circle outside the walls.

The significance of the houses outside the walls lies largely in the contribution they make, however limited, to information about Mycenaean architecture apart from palaces; the buildings, which seem to have belonged to individual merchants, represent part of a commercial quarter in a town. Apart from the actual architecture, the associated materials, including especially the inscribed documents, provide evidence, however inferential, for the kinds of business and its methods.

The significance of the new grave circle, apart from the many details of evidence for burial practices and from the many objects of great intrinsic artistic value, lies in its date before Schliemann's grave circle, effectually anchoring the great Mycenaean dynasties well within the Middle Helladic period. The discovery by Mylonas of the grave circle near Eleusis adds a facet to the "circle of grave circles" which suggests problems if not their solutions. Mylonas' hypothesis that the tholos tombs evolved from the grave circles may be particularly hard for some to believe, but it seems at least as difficult to accept any of the other hypotheses he carefully mentions, and it may be ungracious for an outsider to emphasize the doubt when he has no positive contribution of his own.

It is in a way a real disappointment that the book does not illustrate any of the objects from Schliemann's shaft graves. Admittedly these are well known, but in a book which in all other respects gives a fairly balanced, comprehensive survey of the site, the general reader would have valued a few plates of those objects which count so much in the tradition.

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the Page-Barbour lectures at the University of Virginia in 1955, but has been developed and expanded for publication. The style is rapid and readable; Mylonas' infectious personality is alive on every page. The illustrations are fine and the book as a whole is handsome.

ROBERT SCRANTON

Emory University

*Classical Influences on English Prose.* By J. A. K. THOMSON. London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1956. Pp. xiii, 303. \$3.75.

IN LEISURELY AND uncluttered prose, which belies the magnitude of his subject, J. A. K. Thomson continues to account for the classical influences on English literature. *Classical Influences on English Prose* is the newest addition to a recent series.

The first of these volumes, *The Classical Background of English Literature* (1948), treats of the general characteristics of classical literature, the particular characteristics of classical poetry and prose, respectively, and of the classical tradition in the Middle Ages, the Renaissance, and during the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This work lacks both the flamboyance and the value of Gilbert Highet's *The Classical Tradition*. It is especially weak on the twentieth century, including merely cautious overtures to Eliot and Joyce; e.g., "It is not very easy to discuss the classical background of Mr. Eliot, although it is very distinctly there, because he uses it."

*Classical Influences on English Poetry* (1951) illustrates by specific examples the particular poetic characteristics outlined in the initial volume. The text provides an excellent point of departure for classes in the classical tradition. The chapters take account of poetic genres (epic, didactic, tragedy, comedy, lyric, elegiac, pastoral, satire, and epigram) and their infusion into the correspondent genres of English literature.

*Shakespeare and the Classics* (1952) is an extended and comfortably reliable gloss of all the poems and plays attributed to Shakespeare, showing the degree to which he was directly or indirectly influenced by Greek and Roman letters. The influence is mainly indirect, Mr. Thomson contends; and on occasion he will stand at odds with Professor Baldwin (*Shakespeare's Small Latin and Less Greeke*).

The present work makes an approach to the varieties of prose similar in manner to the one made by the series' second volume

toward those of poetry. The approach is informed by genre, and what we have here is a study of classical *prose* influences on English prose. Some eighteen genres and styles are investigated, exemplified by classical practitioners, and then related to the European literary tradition so far as it ultimately concerns English letters. A valuable chapter on "Characters," for example, stresses the original signification of the term, cites Plato, Aristotle, Theophrastus (who merely "gave . . . the name") and *Auctor ad Herennium*, and follows the tradition of the genre in Erasmus, Joseph Hall, Thomas Overbury, the *Microcosmographie*, John Bunyan, La Bruyère, Addison, and Goldsmith.

Since the author has very carefully (and wisely) prescribed his limits—classical prose genres related to English prose—we need not look for details concerning, for example, Plato's influence on Shelley's poetry. Only the briefest mention is accorded Shelley, Coleridge, and Wordsworth in connection with Plato; and no titles or examples of either their prose or poetry are presented. Nor do we find more than a paragraph or two having to do with the influences of classical poetry on English prose; one of these traces Horace (*Sat.* 1. 5) to Addison, Sterne, and Stevenson. Such sections are commonly available in *Background*. There, for instance, Joyce is summarily dispatched: "And, though he called his most famous book *Ulysses*, and had evidently some knowledge of ancient languages and literatures, it is not possible to say what they really meant to him."

*Prose* disregards Joyce and other twentieth-century writers entirely, despite the ease with which a Winston Churchill, William Empson, or Robert Graves could fit into certain of the chapters. *Shakespeare* has actually more to do with the moderns than *Prose*: e.g., Marlowe's translation of Ovid's *Amores* is "grossly inaccurate, almost as inaccurate as Ezra Pound." (*Miser* Pound! Must his "Welsh mines" and "Marius" take their place with Keats' "stout Cortez"?) But the purposes of *Prose*—"to indicate, not elaborate, the relation of English to classical prose" and "to isolate (the) classical elements"—suffer no obligation to the complete range of English literature. The author seems here inclined to let others account for our contemporaries.

Within the predetermined limits of the book, its purposes are attained. And the book is a delight to read. Nowhere else has Mr. Thomson so adequately suited his style to

his subject. One is aware that prose is being treated by a master of prose. The distinctions drawn between novel and romance, between eighteenth- and twentieth-century word choice, between individuals and types, and, again, between literature and scientific prose are pleasantly provocative. Statements of this tone are equally provocative: "In considering the history of a literary form we must not count the failures"; ". . . What sinks into men's minds most colour what they say"; and, provocative, not of question, but of efforts toward similar accuracy, "No ancient critic known to us seeks to interpret the work of a writer as an expression of his life and character." In the chapter on the apophthegm, he discreetly introduces one of his own, one, in fact, which coins the gold of the book, ". . . An author is always justified in practising what he does best."

ROY ARTHUR SWANSON

Indiana University

*Virgil, The Aeneid. A New Translation* by W. F. JACKSON KNIGHT. Baltimore: Penguin Books, Inc. (The Penguin Classics L51), 1956. Pp. 366. \$0.85.

IT IS A HAPPY OCCASION when a translation intended for a wide audience conforms to the highest standards of scholarship. Mr. Knight's distinguished reputation as an authority on Virgil would have led us to expect nothing less, and it is greatly to the credit of Mr. E. V. Rieu, editor of the Penguin Classics, that he entrusted the translation of the *Aeneid* to such an outstanding scholar.

The translator's integrity comes out most clearly in his effort at all times to state exactly what he thinks the Latin means, and never to conceal difficulties under ambiguous or vague phrases. The translation is thus the record of a mature scholar's interpretation of the *Aeneid*, and as such it deserves the attention of all who are engaged on a serious study of the poem. In an appendix (pp. 339-42) Knight has listed sixty-five Latin passages in which he prefers a reading other than that adopted by Hirtzel in the Oxford Classical Text.

A few examples will show the translator's efforts to capture exactly the right shade of meaning, however many words this may require: *dispicunt* (6. 734) becomes "look with wide eyes"; *debellare superbos* (6. 853), "wage war until the haughty are brought low"; and *marmore* (7. 718), "whitening sea." Of course no translation can do justice to *sunt lacrimae*

*rerum* (1.462); Knight renders it, "There is pity for a world's distress." At 1.574 he is excessively wordy: "There will be no question of making a distinction between Trojans and Tyrians."

Knight's prose is simple, with little embellishment. For the most part the sentences are short or are broken up into short phrases. Exotic words are in general avoided. Yet the effect is not prosy, for many of the sentences have rhythmical patterns. Perhaps the rhythms were not always intentional; but certainly they reflect the translator's well-known interest in meter.

There are some nearly perfect hexameters, complete with caesura:

Meanwhile the sky circled round, and  
night fell over the ocean . . . (p. 58)

Here is a vessel of gold which was used by  
his father Anchises . . . (p. 182)

. . . girt according to custom with skins,  
and carrying torches. (p. 209)

Arrogant foe, it is not your heated words  
which affright me. (p. 336)

At other times the rhythm is more nearly iambic, as on p. 204,

You see before you men of Trojan birth  
whose arms are hostile only to those men  
of Latium, who, when we sought refuge  
with them,  
contemptuously repelled us, and made  
war.

and p. 241,

For you are divine and know the tale,  
and yours is the power to tell.

Lyric meters can also be found; once  
or twice I seemed to hear the rhythm of  
Horace, *Odes* 1. 11, for example (p. 252),

Rule that Carthage must hold Italy crushed  
under her iron sway.

Knight's use of *cola* is almost "Asiatic,"  
as in the following examples:

. . . with blazing and blood-shot eyes and  
tongues  
which flickered and licked their hissing  
mouths . . . (p. 57)

We Trojans are no more;  
no more is Ilium . . . (p. 61)

Seeing them all  
shoulder to shoulder,  
dauntless for battle,  
I called out to them. (p. 61)

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. . . these coasts of avarice,  
this land of savagery! (p. 76)

Here those ancient Sons of Earth,  
Titans of youthful strength,  
struck down by a thunder-stroke,  
are writhing in the lowest depth. (p. 164)

The parallelism in the following passage  
is even more extended:

The Trojans now prepared to deal  
with the game on which  
they were soon to feast.  
Some of them flayed  
the hides from the ribs,  
disclosing the meat.  
Others then cut  
the meat into steaks,  
and spitted it,  
quivering. (pp. 33 f.)

Sometimes there is too much lilt:

I used to call you Husband,  
but the word has shrunk to Guest.  
(p. 107)

or the assonance produces a jingle:

. . . there is no hope at all for me

in this extreme of misery. (p. 53)

The crews donned wreaths  
of poplar-leaves . . . (p. 123)

Altogether, the translation is an interesting experiment in prose, which, though not Virgil, is a charming substitute.

Knight's introduction (pp. 11-24) is compact and informative. His comments on "Virgil's deeper meanings" are of a fairly conventional kind, dealing with "ultimate truth," "symbolic suggestion," "the real world behind appearances," "the trivial truth of fact," and the like. At the end of the volume are a Glossary of Names, three maps, and a genealogical table.

PHILLIP DE LACY

Washington University

*Theophrastus, On Stones: Introduction, Greek text, English translation, and Commentary.* By EARLE R. CALEY and JOHN F. C. RICHARDS. Columbus, Ohio: The Ohio State University Press, 1956. Pp. 238. \$6.00.

HISTORICAL INFORMATION about Theophrastus, his work, and especially the fragments of his treatise *On Stones*, is the first concern of this edition, along with an enumeration of manuscripts, printed editions, and translations of the text. The Greek text is based on Wimmer. The commentary is a clear 159-page discussion and analysis of related information, supported by abundant references.

Many of the references are taken from previous editions and other authorities; those from Bluemner's valuable *Technologie und Terminologie der Gewerbe*, etc., however, are from the first edition, completed in 1887, rather than from the later edition which gives more recent information and clarifications. It is also to be noted that a few of the references appear to contradict conclusions based on them. The indexes at the end of the book are complete.

The edition in hand is a credit to the authors. It is a solid accomplishment of an arduous task, well systematized, and useful to students of the development of pure science in general, as well as of mineralogy proper. The authors, however, range into technological areas with which they are apparently not too familiar. It would be a valuable endeavor, if, on the same pattern and with the cooperation of technical scientists, other books by the founders of physical science and technology were translated, commented on and, where possible, supplemented. Unluckily for us today, only fragments of the book *On Stones* have been saved; further, that book was

written on the Greek principle of omitting the well understood, what was commonly known. Also, the hazards of transmission have caused omissions, errors, and lacunae; and the ancient method of composition occasionally induces repetitions by the author.

The necessary prerequisite for understanding the writings of the ancient naturalists in detail is thorough familiarity with their concepts about essence and nature. It is indispensable, for example, to know all the meanings given to the four elements, that water often refers to the liquid or fluid state, as earth to the solid state or material, fire to energy, etc.

The time factor also must be considered when information is taken from other authors. The Latin writers in this field wrote about three centuries after Theophrastus and with an advanced knowledge of technics. Improving thus on an ancient text, however, often leads to error. In the particular case of glass it must be remembered that the *hielos* of Theophrastus is not the *vitrum* of Pliny. Aristotle defines as glasses the shiny exudations or tears of trees, and Theophrastus knew only from hearsay (sec. 49) of another kind of glass (another gleaming material) made of sand (Sofianopoulos, *Journ. Chem. Education* 29 [1952] 503). The Latins knew the glass made of sand, the greenish *vitrum*, and remembered the glass-gums. Caesar Germanicus, indeed, had renamed as *Glaesaria* the Northern Sea island of Austeravia, because amber, the fossil gum, was washed out on its coasts. Phoenicians were never glass manufacturers; had they known the Egyptian secret, the West would have had its own glass much earlier than the Hellenistic era, just as it had the purple dye, introduced by its Phoenician inventors. Rumors about Syrian or Phoenician glass were obviously generated by the trinkets cast in these countries from lumps of raw glass procured in Egypt.

Theophrastus doubts (sec. 5) the existence of stones endowed with the ability to give birth, which Aristotle had mentioned as rumor. Pliny and some of his contemporaries were sure that such stones existed, and the Pandects and later the Byzantine *Vasilika* actually regulate the relations between owner and exploiter of stone-reproducing quarries.

The comments on the Egyptian kyanos (sec. 55) are far from clear and the conclusions not acceptable. Theophrastus knew what we now know, that the tone of that pigment depends on degree of fineness.

Only much later was the formulation revealed and the pigment manufactured in Italy, although costlier than the Egyptian. Samples of such artificial blue from Egyptian tombs prove the soundness of the formula used by Vestorius, which permitted the pigment to be reproduced in a French laboratory (Cofignier).

The word *PHARIDI* in sec. 62 has obviously been altered by a copyist's error, this deduced from the use of the Melian earth as a cosmetic by young women. Could not *OARIDI* be the right word?

The text starting with sec. 64 deals clearly with raw and dehydrated gypsum, absolutely distinguished from lime. The Athenians and Theophrastus were familiar with limes, even the hydraulic type, the black lime. This writer has scraped lime plasters from the surface of stones belonging to the first Parthenon, as well as from joints of water conduits, and also found an ancient lime kiln filled with the dirt of centuries on the slopes of Mount Hymettus on the outskirts of Athens. So Theophrastus could not confuse quicklime and plaster of Paris. In the case of the ship fire, our philosopher had not witnessed the incident but dared to use reported information as one more proof that heat energy is inherent to solids. Such accidents are not rare. Wooden vessels loaded with quicklime are subject to fires, and so are railroad cars, one of which burned about five years ago in Hamilton, Ohio.

As for the marbles set in the gypsum kiln, these were large shiny gypsum stones, never lumps of calcium carbonate. They had to be mixed with the smaller pieces to facilitate the circulation of the dehydrating gases through the load. We know that the empty spaces in piles which consist of equal sizes, small or large, are much reduced, impeding the circulation of the gases. Compact masses can be penetrated only by very hot or blown-in gases. High temperatures would deaden the gypsum, and the use of the bellows in that process is not advisable. The addition of manure was necessary for better heat distribution in a voluminous kiln, where the temperature must run without fluctuations and not exceed 190° C. In present-day brick kilns cheap combustibles are set in places, forming local small heat sources for similar reasons.

Ordinary plaster-of-Paris plasters do not withstand outdoor exposure. It must, however, be remembered that decorative window frames, such as those of the Monastery of Osios Lucas, are still holding their own,

intact after many centuries, being originally coated with olive oil, which forms water-resisting calcium compounds.

In conclusion and all in all, this edition of Theophrastus' book is the most complete and systematic to date, and a helpful step toward the further clarification, with the cooperation of technically trained men, of valuable information pertaining to the origin of our technics.

A. J. SOFIANOPOULOS

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*Virgil's Georgics: A Modern English Verse Translation.* By SMITH PALMER BOVIE. University of Chicago Press, 1956. Pp. xxx, 110. \$3.75.

TRANSLATIONS ARE the happy hunting ground of the reviewer, for nowhere else has he so rich an opportunity to point out flaws, to display his own perspicacity and wit—to be, as Martial put it, *ingeniosus in alieno libro*. Bovie's volume is a translation, and therefore it has flaws. But it will be a long time before we see a better modern English version of Book III of the *Georgics*. The English is clear, and preserves both the swift pace and animal vigor of the original; the verse is euphonious, well-modulated, and nearly always constructed with due regard to the demands of the English iambic pentameter. The following passage (517-30) will stand as an example:

See the bull go down beneath the plow:  
Blood flecks his foaming breath, he heaves  
a groan.  
The ploughman frees the live companion  
bull  
Grieving for his brother's death; the plough  
Hangs fixed, midway along the half-turned  
furrow.  
No more will lofty shades entice this bull,  
No luscious mead, no stream more pure than  
amber  
Tumbling over stones to reach the plain!  
His flanks cave in, a drowsy numbness  
clouds  
Across his eyes, his massive neck declines  
Drooping of its own weight toward the  
ground.  
Is this the fruit of labor, this the reason  
The strong and patient beast has drawn the  
plough?  
No wine, no overeating took their toll:  
His simple diet called for grass and leaves.  
He drank from limpid pools and racing  
streams,



No restless care disturbed his sweet repose.

This, as far as may be in English, is what Virgil said; this, again as far as may be, is how he said it, and much the same could be asserted of the rest of Bovie's version of Book III.

Book IV is almost as good. Take for example the following (172-85):

Like Cyclopean blacksmiths casting bolts  
Of thunder, when they run in molten ore  
And some with leather bellows ply the air  
While others dip the hissing brass in  
troughs

And Etna groans beneath the anvil blows  
As rhythmically their great arms rise and  
fall

Or turn the iron with tongs that grip it fast;  
Like this, if small things may compare with  
great,

The spirit of possession drives the bees  
To their respective tasks. The care of towns  
Is given to the old, who wall the combs  
And shape the chambers cunningly. The  
young

Return home late at night, their thighs hard-  
packed

With thyme—at random all day long they  
browse

Arbutus, laurel, willow, crimson crocus,  
The rich lime blossom, russet hyacinth.  
One time for all to rest from their achieve-  
ments,

One time for all to labor, is the rule.

This, too, is good Virgil, and so again is most of the rest of Book IV, including the difficult Aristaeus-Orpheus passage at the end. For these two books alone Bovie deserves the praise and gratitude of classicists, especially those who must teach Virgil to the un-Latined. Some, of course, will still prefer the skillful and sensitive translation of C. Dav Lewis (Oxford, 1947), although it may fairly be debated whether Lewis, with all his professional art, has caught Virgil's compressed style and economy of words as well as has Bovie. In any event, Bovie's version will be welcomed as a replacement for Dryden's beautiful but archaic translation, and for the well-meant but clumsy work of certain classicists who were better Latinists than they were poets.

With Books I and II we shall probably be less pleased. Largely it is the verse itself that is at fault, for in these two books Bovie's meters obtrude themselves on the attention by their imperfections. For example (l. 258-60):

When cold rain keeps him in, the farmer  
can

Get on with some work, at ease, he would  
have to rush

If the sky were clear. . . .

and (355):

Repeatedly, when to keep the herds near  
their stalls.

This is simply not good verse, no matter what its form was meant to be. Occasionally, too, there are lines unpleasant to the ear, most of them rendered so by the awkward English sibilant, always a problem for our poets. The following lines show an excessive concentration of s's (l. 249-51):

When here  
The orient's breathless steeds requicken us,  
Out there the glowing Dusk lights evening's  
rays.

In a line-for-line verse translation like Bovie's it is inevitable that an occasional inaccuracy will occur; there are so few of these that one hesitates to point them out, especially since they rarely do much damage to meaning. More serious are bits of infelicitous English like the following (l. 68):

To raise a lightly hanging furrow ridge  
and (l. 441-42):

[the sun] shrinks away from his center disk,  
lines which meant nothing to me until I  
turned back to the Latin text. Similarly,

And moldy fungus gathers on the wick  
(l. 392)

will leave the non-Latinist mystified; here the ancient metaphor requires interpretation as well as translation. In all the volume I found only one example of poor taste, and this in the otherwise excellent Book IV: for *Neptuno merserit* we get "and plunged them (sc. the bees) in the drink" (30), a colloquialism quite out of place in Virgil.

But enough of flaws. In general, Bovie's translation is, as Mark Van Doren described it in the jacket blurb, "graceful and musical," and classicists will be glad to have it. And the introduction shows an understanding of Virgil and a literary sensitivity that are all too rare among us. This is the kind of critical writing that is needed, if the ancient classics are to regain something like their rightful place in our education and culture.

FRANK O. COPLEY

University of Michigan

## MYCENEAN GREEK

*The Pylos Tablets: Texts of the Inscriptions Found, 1939-1954.* Edited by EMMETT L. BENNETT, JR., with a foreword by Carl W. Blegen. Princeton University Press (for University of Cincinnati), 1955. Pp. xxxii, 252. Vocabulary and indexes. \$5.00.

*The Knossos Tablets: A revised transliteration . . .* by EMMETT L. BENNETT, JR., JOHN CHADWICK, MICHAEL VENTRIS (ed.). Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London, 50 Bedford Square, W.C.1. Supplementary Papers No. 2. Pp. iv, 125. Table of signs and concordance of nos. 15 s.

*Documents in Mycenaean Greek.* By MICHAEL VENTRIS and JOHN CHADWICK, with a foreword by Alan J. B. Wace. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1956. Pp. xxxi, 452. Vocabulary indexes, concordance, 3 plates. \$15.00.

IF SOMEONE HAD ASKED US, seven years ago, to try to describe the kind of Greek Nestor spoke to Agamemnon, we would not, perhaps, have been able to compose a conversation in that Mycenaean dialect, but we could have made some plausible guesses about it.

First, it would be an East Greek dialect, more closely related to Attic, Ionic, Aeolic, Arcadian and Cypriote than to Doric or other West Greek dialects. This one would conclude from classical traditions and evidence in the Homeric poems. It would, for instance, show some stage of the shift from *-ti* to *-si*, unlike the West Greek dialects; the plural article would be *hoi* rather than *toi*; the modal particle *an* or *ke* rather than *ka*; thematic infinitives would end in *-en*, athematic in *-nai*; the first person plural would be *-men*, not *-mes*; for *sun*, *xun* would be expected, and so on. Many of the features that distinguish the Greek dialects of historical times would be of little use to us, since late innovations are involved; in most details our Proto-East-Greek would differ little from Proto-Greek itself. Where any dialect shows a clear archaism, we would be inclined to attribute it to Mycenaean unless it was preserved only in West Greek. So we should expect nouns in *-is* and *-us* to be inflected with alternate stems in *-e-* and *-ew-*, almost as in Attic—*πόλις*, *πόλεος*, *πόλει*, *πόλιν*, etc., and *ἄστν*, *ἄστεως*, *ἄστεν*. The *w* would be preserved in nearly all positions.

In many ways, we would expect Mycenaean to be more archaic than any of the attested East Greek dialects. For instance, the divergent treatment of IE labio-velars,

at least before front vowels, would lead us to restore a distinct phoneme or cluster for *\*qu*, *\*qhu*, and *\*gu*; divergent treatment of original syllabic liquids and nasals would lead us to postulate such syllabic allophones (or perhaps a schwa) for Mycenaean; divergent developments of original *ky* and *tw* clusters would lead us to postulate some sort of affricated *ts* for Mycenaean; divergent developments of *ly*, *ry*, *ny*, *my*, *ls*, *rs*, *ns*, *ln*, etc., would suggest either that these clusters were still preserved or that the first four were represented by a set of palatalized consonants. In morphology we should assume a lively contrast between locative and dative, at least in some classes of nouns; we should expect a much more active use of the allative enclitic *-de* and the ablative suffix *-then*, as well as instrumental *-phi*, perhaps amounting to clear-cut cases. In sentence structure, prepositions and prefixes would be less frequent, and the line between the two less sharply drawn. The augment on past tenses would be optional, and the article rare, more or less as in Homer.

But the most striking differences would be in vocabulary. Assuming a lapse of only 500 years (700 might be fairer), even in the hundred or so most commonly used words there would be about 20 per cent change, though most of these might be identifiable from scattered survivals or derivatives in one Greek dialect or another; but in the large mass of vocabulary, the culture words, the technical terms, the little used words of all kinds, everything we know would lead us to expect a much greater change—from 40 to 80 per cent. Even if we consider not words, but roots, we could still look for a fair number of strange ones.

Though the last 500 years have been marked by the development of stabilizing forces, slowing down the rate of vocabulary change, how many of us can understand every word of the following passages?

1. (Records of the Borough of Leicester, 1467) Also all bakers that bake shall bake simnell, wastell, cooked loaves, 4 for a penny of good paste, good bulture and well baken, and of ringed and temsed bread 4 loaves for a penny.

2. (Occupational list 1351, Borough of Leicester) Will. de Horton de Knapetoff, baker; Will. de Godfelaw, coruiser; Ric. de Drax, mercer; Edw. Benett, sherman; Ric. de Boden hale, baxter; Joh. de Lobesthorp, walker; Will. Mellers, bellheyterar.

In all matters of this sort we must also make allowances for our ignorance of clas-

sical vocabulary. There are certainly many words of a technical character which were current in Greece but were not recorded in any source which has come down to us. (Look at inscription 39 in Buck's *Greek Dialects*, for instance.) Occupational names and personal names present a similar picture.

Finally, we would be inclined to expect a somewhat larger percentage of loan-words from pre-Greek languages than we find in classical times.

In 1952 Michael Ventris and John Chadwick announced (in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* and in *The Times* of London) the successful decipherment, as Greek, of the documents written in the script which Evans had called Minoan Linear B, and presented tentative transcriptions and translations of a number of these documents. More followed soon, as other scholars joined the game; but for some reason or other, though Americans had done notable pioneer work leading up to decipherment, few were among the early post-decipherment workers. But some Americans did sit down with a copy of the Linear B syllabary (or "grid") and start transcribing Bennett's preliminary edition of the Pylos tablets and Myres' *Scripta Minoa II*. And the experience was frustrating. It was frustrating for several reasons: (1) insufficient allowance had been made in advance for the various factors mentioned above; (2) many of the documents are mere lists of names, or of entries identical except for names; others consist chiefly or wholly of ideograms and numerals, and very few show sentences; (3) the structure of the syllabary (see the last section of this review) makes necessary the consideration of dozens of possible transcriptions before arriving at one which suits. It was often difficult to avoid the feeling that something was radically wrong; maybe this wasn't Greek after all, or maybe whole rows or columns of the grid were wrongly identified.

To what extent was this feeling justified? As far as the dialect affiliation was concerned, our expectation was fully borne out. There is no detail in which it is not East Greek rather than West Greek. Ventris and Chadwick at first plumped strongly for a specific Arcado-Cypriote affiliation, but this was largely based on archaisms. A similar line is taken in the book under review, suggesting at least that the relationship is not with Attic-Ionic, and definitely more with Arcado-Cypriote than with Aeolic. The evidence is slim, and a recent article by Chadwick (in *Greece and Rome* 3 [1956]

38-50) develops his views further, adopting more wholeheartedly the Risch-Porzig hypothesis that Aeolic is basically WG, its EG coloring being derived (in the case of Lesbian) from neighboring Ionic dialects. The best test of affiliation would be the declension of i-stem nouns, where Attic preserves (and extends) the IE gradation of the stem (-e- except in nominative and accusative singular), but unfortunately the tablets do not contain any clearly identifiable oblique forms of these nouns. The form *apu* (not *apo*) and the o-vocalism of some syllabic liquids is also cited, but both are open to other interpretations. The former may be archaic in EG, with Attic *apo* an innovation (perhaps from WG dialects), and the latter may represent the preservation of distinct syllabic liquids in Mycenaean. Our conclusion would be that this is, as expected, pretty much undifferentiated East Greek, with only the beginnings of the innovations that distinguish the later dialects.

In a recent article (*JHS* 76 [1956] 1-17) A. J. Beattie is led by his feeling of frustration to reject the whole Ventris-Chadwick decipherment, using as his main arguments (1) unreadability, unsuitability of the script for writing Greek, and (2) un-Greek distribution of syllables. He explains away the apparent successes of the decipherment as due to chance and to deliberate pre-rigging of the method to yield Greek. A careful study of the successive stages in Ventris' decipherment makes the second charge difficult to sustain. But the implication that the materials could be interpreted differently so as to yield some other language is fantastic unless someone can show a grid which will give as much Latin or Eskimo (or Turkish or Cherokee) as the Ventris-Chadwick grid gives of Greek, with any amount of pre-rigging. And what about confirmatory texts, like Pylos *Ta* 641 (*Documents*, no. 236), discovered after the decipherment, and making almost perfect Greek throughout, with pictographs of vases which correspond point for point with the descriptions? Beattie devotes considerable effort to demolishing this confirmation, starting from the assumption that, if Greek, this document ought to agree in every detail of meaning and usage with fifth-century Attic. He is willing to attribute almost anything to chance, ignoring entirely the terrific odds against a sequence of five signs being readable by chance as an appropriate Greek work, let alone 15 or 20, and that not just once but dozens of times.

The charge of unreadability is easily re-

futed. I transcribed a passage each from Attic verse and prose into the syllabary and submitted them to a colleague with the rules of interpretation. In both cases he quickly came up with the correct solution, noting only one case of ambiguity. If this is possible in unknown documents, how much more so it would be for native speakers in simplified accounts where every item has only to be distinguished from a narrow range of other items.

There is one point in which Beattie's criticism seems to have some basis, and that is the relative frequency of the syllables in comparison with Greek. But the discrepancies can probably all be accounted for by inadequate sampling and non-comparability of the available lists.

To turn, now, to the books under review. Bennett's *Pylos Tablets* presents all the texts found prior to 1955 (there are more now) in two forms: a reduced reproduction of tracings from photographs of the tablets, and an epigraphic text in the syllabary, without transliteration (the latter appears only in the vocabulary). The vocabulary is alphabetized in the order used earlier by Bennett, which is also the source of the numbers by which the signs are commonly designated. It is my guess that this is the last book in which that order will be used: it is difficult to memorize, and slows down research. All the texts repeated from the *Preliminary Transcription* are renumbered to correspond to their inventory numbers; e.g., the text formerly called *Ea* 01 is now *Ea* 304, and the 304 alone is sufficient to identify it. This will cause a little inconvenience in using the *Index*, but a new edition should appear soon. There are many new joins, restorations and improved readings in the old texts. The new inscriptions are numerous, including additions to nearly all classes, and several new and interesting classes.—*Sh*, concerned with armor, *Ta* with furniture and vessels, *La* with textiles, *Es* with payments (?) of grain. These texts, particularly the *Ta* series, add a considerable number of new words to our vocabulary. Bennett does not provide a reverse index; I had to construct one for my own use. I also highly recommend penciling the syllabary order number at the head of each column in the vocabulary (and the *Index*) as a time-saver.

Ventris' transliterations of *The Knossos Tablets*, incorporating variant readings by Bennett, Chadwick, and others, is a great deal more convenient to use (as well as much more complete) than *Scripta Minoa* II. The new texts are relatively minor, but the new readings are often helpful. Here,

too, there has been some renumbering and reclassification. The big gaps are (1) in the Concordance, where it is often impossible to locate a text cited in Bennett's *Index* because its number has been changed or it has been joined to another (e.g., 1042, now joined to *Se* 1006; 977, now joined to *Dl* 948, etc.; several others I haven't yet located); (2) in the lack of an index or "vocabulary." But as a working tool for interim use, it is of immense value.

The Ventris and Chadwick *Documents* is quite another sort of book. It includes (as far as I can determine) only five previously unpublished inscriptions (from Mycenae), but provides, for its 300 selected texts, the sort of full-scale reconstruction, transcription, translation and commentary that has previously appeared only in scattered articles.

Part I (through page 150) is a series of essays on various topics: *Foreword* on the archeological-historical background; Chapter 1 on the history of the texts and of the efforts at decipherment; 2 on the system of Linear B, with an account of the other related scripts; 3 on the language of the documents; 4 on personal names (of which a copious index is given in Appendix 2 [414-27]); 5 on the cultural, historical, economic, etc., conclusions based on the tablets, and (pp. 139-50) on geographical names (which are not indexed in the Appendices, but only here, pp. 146-50).

In part II the tablets are grouped according to subject matter: first (Ch. 6) tablets dealing with persons (1 to 60), then (7) livestock, grain, fruits, oil, and spices (61 to 107), (8) land holding (108 to 166), (9) tribute and ritual offerings (167 to 208), (10) textiles, vessels, and furniture (209 to 252), and (11) metals and military equipment (253 to 300). In each chapter there is a preliminary essay, then introductions to the various sub-types, further broken down by site (*Pylos*, *Cnossos*, or *Mycenae*). For each text we have first a syllabic transcription, then (usually) a translation, with the more dubious words italicized, then a commentary. One nuisance here is that though the transcription is given with the original line-numbering, the translation, if subdivided at all, is paragraphed with new numbers, unrelated to the line numbers, and the notes either give no reference to either system, or refer only to the paragraph numbers.

But this is a minor inconvenience, and in the main we must adjudge this book of great value, one from which much can be learned on almost any page. Later in this article I shall offer a few suggestions, but

they are not at all to be construed as an attack on this book or on the decipherment, which has (in spite of Beattie) stood up under all possible tests with remarkably little modification.

For readers of our *Journal*, I should like to offer three sample texts, not enough to illustrate the variety of the documents, but enough at least to suggest the frustrations and obstacles. For those who would like to play the game themselves, I would suggest the following equipment: (1) the three books here under review; (2) copies of all texts not included in these books (they can be located with fair ease from references in Bennett's *Index* and in the bibliography of *Documents*); (3) Bennett's *Minoan Linear B Index*; (4) such supplements as you can get or devise for the *Index*; (5) the Liddell-Scott-Jones dictionary; (6) Kretschmer's reverse index and Buck-Petersen's reverse index of nouns; (7) Hesychius' *Lexicon* and Pollux' *Onomasticon*; (8) Pape's *Namenbuch* and such other more recent supplements for it as you can find. In addition, you want infinite patience, as thorough a knowledge as possible of Homer and the Greek dialects, plus a good knowledge of Indo-European, and a lively imagination.

Our first text will not require much effort, however; it is Pylos Gn 1184, transcribed in passing in *Documents*, p. 217, but not edited there. The first two lines offer the only complete sentence which can be read without change as ordinary classical Greek: ko-ka-ro a-pe-do-ke e-ra<sup>3</sup>-wo to-so e-u-me-de-i OIL 18, i.e., *Kókalos apédōke élaivon tósson Eumédei*, "Kokalos duly paid to Eumedes this much oil, 18 units." But the last line reads pa-ro i-pe-se-wa ka-ra-re-we 38. The first word is the only common Mycenaean preposition, presumably equivalent to classical *pará*, but occurring almost exclusively with the dative (as far as the case can be checked), and, in spite of that, rendered by V-C as "from." The next word is presumably a man's name, a-stem, in the dative—perhaps \**Ipséwāi*, but no such name is known. The last word recurs in one Cnossos text where it may be the name for a type of jar. V-C suggest \**klárēwes*, plural of \**klárēús*, but an entry in Hesychius suggests that perhaps *kararēwes* is better.

Let us take one example from the new *Ta* series. Most of these are inventories, with detailed descriptions, of tables, arm-chairs, and footstools. Many words recur again and again in these documents, and comparison of one with another permits some guesses about individual words. Some

texts list only tables, some only stools; but three list both chairs and stools. The first line of *Ta* 722 (*Documents*, no. 246) reads ta-ra-nu a-ja-me-no e-re-pa-te-jo a-to-ro-qa i-qa-qa po-ru-po-de-qa po-ni-ke-qa STOOL 1, *Thrárus \*aiaménos* (or \**alyáménos*?) *elephanteiōis* (or -ōi) *anthrópois* (-ōi) *hippois qa* (or -ōi *qa*), *polupó-dei qa phoinikei qa*, "a footstool inlaid (?) with ivory men (or a man) and horses (or a horse) and a squid and a palm tree (or phoenix?)." The participle a-ja-me-no recurs many times in this series, and also in the chariot texts of Cnossos, always in a context where "inlaid" seems to suit best—with ivory most often, but also with *kuanos*, with gold, with a material which appears to be perhaps silver, \**parargus* or the like (pa-ra-ku-we or pa-ra-ke-we in the instrumental case), and with something mysterious in *Ta* 642. This inscription (no. 239) is one of the most interesting of the series, so is perhaps worth quoting in full. To-pe-za ra-e-ja we-a-re-ja a-ja-me-na a2-ro-u-do-pi ku-wa-no pa-ra-ke-we-qa - - e-ne-wo pe-[za 1]/to-pe-za ra-e-ja me-no-e-ja e-re-pa-te a-ja-me-na qa-qi-no-to 85-de-pi ko-ru-pi-qa 1/to-pe-za ra-e-ja a-pi-qa-to e-re-pa-te-jo (e-ne-wo pe-za)/po-pi e-ka-ma-te-qa qa-qi-no-to-qa to-qi-de [1]. The first word of each entry is the Mycenaean equivalent of *trápeza*, "table," perhaps to be written *tórpeza* (V-C), perhaps rather *trpeza* with syllabic liquid. The second word in each line seems to be \**laeia* "of stone," though perhaps some type of wood would seem more natural. The next words in lines 1 and 2 (we-a-re-ja and me-no-e-ja) are complete mysteries, perhaps adjectives derived from proper names (though V-C vehemently reject "Minoan" for the second), but a-pi-qa-to in line 3 recurs in the description of other tables. V-C take it as \**amphibotos* "surrounded," meaning either "encircled by a rim or decoration of some kind" or perhaps "free-standing, capable of being walked around." But it could equally well be a noun (in the instrumental case), an interpretation which is even more likely in 713. 1, \**amphibótōi* or \**amphibótois elephanteiōi* (-ois), "with (an) ivory rim(?)" or "with ivory chevrons" or the like. It appears to be mutually exclusive with a-ja-me-na, and so perhaps could refer to a different method of applying the ivory. It is also mutually exclusive with po-ro-e-ke, which ought to mean something like "projection" or "projecting." The word qa-qi-no-to in lines 2 and 3, parallel to qa-qi-nome-na in other texts, seems to be a verbal form of some kind, but reduplication in



a -tos adjective is troublesome, and the Homeric *dinôtos* does not offer much help. A meaning like "carved" seems to fit better than "turned" or "spiral-patterned." It seems here to modify 85-de-pi, and perhaps ko-ru-pi-qe in line 2, and to-qi-de (which should surely be feminine) in line 3 and other texts. On two of the armchair texts it seems to modify a word for the chair-back or some part of it, and to be itself modified by an instrumental. For pa-ra-ke-we, besides \**parargus* "silver," another possibility might be \**plakús* "foil" or the like. e-ne-wo pe-za in 1 and 3 recurs in other table texts, sometimes as one word, and is without doubt a compound, probably *eneuópeza* "nine-foot(ed)," which can hardly refer to table legs (it's hard enough to make four legs come out even), but may refer to length or to carved "feet," perhaps three on each of three legs, contrasting with *wékepeza* "six-foot(ed)" in Ta 713. Now we come to 85-de-pi in line 2. A comparison with po-pi in line 3 led me to consider the value  $po^2$  for 85. And in fact it seems to fit remarkably well; 85-ute in Cnossos Od 666 may be *póuthen* "from the flock," 85-ro in Sd 0402 (a chariot-part) could be \**spolós* or \**spholós* a "block" or "socket" of some sort, 85-te in Ta 709 *potér* a "cup," 85-to-jo in Eb 156 *sprtoio* "of the sown (land)," 85-ta-mo in Jn 685 and 725 (a man's name) *Potamón*, and so on. Unfortunately, all the other words placed like 85-de-pi in this and the other Ta texts seem to refer to decorative figures—men, lions, to-qi-de, etc., and an Aeolism like *podesphi* is perhaps not to be justified. So the equation must remain tentative. V-C suggest *sja* for 85, on the basis of an equation A-85-ti-ja = A-si-ja-ti-ja (a place name) and the identity of shape with the pictogram meaning "hog," si-a2-ro (*sialos*), but this value yields no other good readings. I have tried all other possible syllabic values for 85 (and some disyllabic ones), and none yields as many plausible readings as  $po^2$ , though *au*, *a3*, *ke2* and *ko2* are fairly good. If po-ti-pi in Ta 707 means *póthphi* "feet" instead of *portíphi* "heifers," that might help, but the context is against it.

Ko-ru-pi at the end of line 2 may be the same as ka-ru-we in Ta 717 and ka-ru-pi in 722, meaning perhaps "rosettes" or "nut-designs." E-ka-ma-te recurs in several other Ta texts, and is most naturally taken as *hégma*, *égma*, or *ékhma*, a "rim" of some kind. To-qi-de also recurs, and again may be either a part or a pattern, perhaps connected with a root meaning "twist" (Latin

*torques*); Greek *trópis* "keel" is difficult.

I have gone into some detail about this text to give an idea of the nature of the game, the difficulties involved, and the kind of clues that must be used. The general rules of the syllabary should also be understood, and they are quickly stated. Aspirates, voiced, and voiceless stops are not generally distinguished except for *d*—i.e., *ke* may mean *ke*, *ge*, or *khe* (as in the Cypriote syllabary); *r* and *l* are not distinguished—*ra* may also be *la*. *H* is not noted, unless perhaps *a2* means *ha*. Gemination of consonants and length of vowels is not noted. Syllable-final and word-final liquids, nasals, semivowels (except *u*), and *s* are not written in most cases. Other consonant clusters are written by repeating the following vowel, and initial *s* before a consonant is not written, so that ka-ta-may mean *kata-*, *kta-*, *skata-*, *gata-*, *katha-*, *khata-*, *khtha-*, *skhata-*, etc. Clusters with *-w-* are sometimes written with *-u-* instead of the following vowel, so that *-ku-we-* or *-ke-we-* means *-kwe-*, etc.

My suggestions here are two: (1) syllabic liquids (and perhaps some nasals) are noted with *-o-*; (2) *-o-* is sometimes an "inherent" vowel in liquids, as *-u-* is in *-w-*, so that *po-re-* or *pe-re-* may mean *pre-*, as in *o-pe-te-re-u* alternating with *o-pe-to-re-u*. So too monosyllables ending in *-r* may be written with final *-ro*, so that the preposition *pa-ro* may be read as *par*, a form that we might expect.

Finally, I should like to add a word about the interpretation of *pa-ro* plus the dative as "from." Arcadian *ek* and *apu* with dative are not parallel to classical Greek *pará*, since they inherently mean "from" and the case chosen is redundant. But *pará* is common with all three cases, and the distinction must be maintained at the cost of considerable ambiguity. Several solutions are possible: (1) Mycenaean *pa-ro*, unlike classical *pará*, inherently meant "from" and could be used with only one case; (2) Mycenaean preserved an old ablative whose form is indistinguishable from a dative in these texts (an instance with a plural form in *-si*, then, means "with," "in the possession of," etc., not "from"); (3) all the instances of *pa-ro* are to be translated "with," "in the possession of," or the like, and not "from."

Let me, in closing, recommend the Mycenaean-decipherment game to all who love Greek and puzzles. It is infuriating, but fascinating, and much can be learned.

FRED W. HOUSEHOLDER, JR.

Indiana University



***Haec sunt quae legis illa, quae requiris,  
Advertissima nostrorum amicorum . . .***

(with apologies to *Martial I, 1.*)

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